

**PICTURING RICE AGRICULTURE AND SILK PRODUCTION:
APPROPRIATION AND IDEOLOGY IN EARLY MODERN JAPANESE PAINTING**

by

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Abstract:

The canonic Chinese theme *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* 耕織圖 (Chinese: *gengzhitu*, Japanese: *kōshokuzu*) was transmitted to Japanese painting circles from the fifteenth- through the nineteenth- centuries. Paintings with agrarian motifs decorated the palaces of the Ashikaga shoguns and the abbot's quarters in the Daisen'in temple, and were reproduced many times by masters and disciples of the Kano school throughout the Edo period (1603-1868). From the eighteenth century on, agrarian vignettes also appeared in woodblock prints of various types: from the encyclopedic guidebook to the erotic color print.

My dissertation focuses on this theme as a case study of painterly transmission. The first chapter compares the wall-paintings in the Daisen'in with earlier Chinese paintings, and demonstrates that Japanese painters consciously altered the original figures in order to change their Confucian messages. Thus, I propose that the transmission of *kōshokuzu* exemplifies that painters and patrons consciously appropriated this theme to convey varied messages in changing ideological discourses.

In the second chapter I argue that the Japanization of Chinese farming figures and motifs reveals that Kano painters used printed painting manuals imported from China to a much greater extent than has hitherto been suggested. Additionally, I link the rise of proto-nationalistic schools of thought to the Japanization of the portrayed landscape.

In the third chapter, I concentrate on the print artist Tachibana Morikuni (1679-1749) and argue that his popular painting manuals cannot be the source through which Kano secret models were leaked to *ukiyo-e* artists. Rather, his work was part of a growing trend in the Japanese

market of using printed books as painting manuals. Later print artists, such as Harunobu (fl. 1765-1770), acknowledged their transmission of Morikuni's models by parodying his books.


The fourth chapter surveys the history of *Pictures of Sericulture*. I link the lack of sericultural images and the inattention to their study to their association with a female audience. I also detail how weaving women in *ukiyo-e* served as parodies of Neo-Confucianism and – in later Meiji-period prints – as propaganda for imperial technology.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Catalogue entries on the theme of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*¹ conventionally provide the following information:

This painting theme combines two series of vignettes. The first, *Pictures of Agriculture*, depict the process of rice cultivation in the four seasons, from plowing the paddy-fields to the storing of the rice yields. The second, *Pictures of Sericulture*, depicts the process of silk production from raising the silkworms to weaving and preparing silk cloth. This combined theme originated in China, where it served a didactic purpose, suggesting that the wealth of the country depends on agriculture, which in turn depends on the virtue of the sovereign. The spectator was to learn of the hard labor of the commoners and correct his or her behavior accordingly. This theme was transferred to Japan via a scroll attributed to the Song-dynasty painter Liang Kai (梁楷, Southern Song dynasty), and was kept in the collection of the Ashikaga shoguns. It was later used as a model-book in the hands of the Kano school painters. During the Edo period *Pictures*

¹ Throughout this dissertation I use the generic title *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* 耕織圖 (Chinese: *gengzhitu*, Japanese: *kōshokuzu*). This Sino-Japanese title has several other translations into English. The title *Pictures of Tilling and Weaving* is preferred by many, being the literal translation of the Chinese characters. The complete Japanese dictionary *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten*, however, suggests that *kōshoku* is a synecdoche for the full annual process of rice cultivation and silk production (*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 (electronic dictionary). 2006. 精選版. Shōgakusan 小学館). I therefore prefer to use the comprehensive term *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, aiming both at an accurate translation and at implying that the significance of the farmers' representations was related to larger economic and cultural processes. The expression “agriculture and sericulture” extends to cover further semantic fields. Tilling or agriculture (耕) can refer to food in general, similarly to the way “rice” signifies food in Asian cultures, and is antonymous to hunger; weaving or sericulture (織) can refer to clothing. Thus, together, “agriculture and sericulture” denote the fulfillment of the basic needs of humans and consequently suggest satisfaction.

of *Sericulture* fell out of fashion, and painters started to render the rice cultivation theme in a *yamato-e* style, often gaining inspiration from local agrarian traditions. In these paintings, Japanese figures and rituals are depicted among tranquil seasonal motifs, oftentimes inspiring the author of the catalogue entry to add a few nostalgic lines regarding early technologies and harmonious countryside.²

I first learned of the *Pictures of Agriculture in the Four Seasons* when writing my MA thesis on Japanese paintings of four seasons (i.e. *Landscape in the Four Seasons*, *Flowers and Birds in the Four Seasons*). Such compositions, it was often argued with utmost seriousness, reflect how Japanese culture is fundamentally close to nature.³ Living in Japan at the time, I was personally offended by statements concerning the uniqueness of the Japanese; often constructed as a dichotomy vis-à-vis some obscure “West,” they denied my own ability—a student of middle-Eastern origin—to have any true understanding of Japanese images of nature. My journey into the history of paintings with seasonal divisions led me to point out the Neo-Confucian ideology behind the tendency to reflect the world in a neat arrangement of seasonal harmony. I argued that the undisputed fact of annual change makes pictures that highlight seasonal variation ideal platforms for supporting disputable arguments. Thus, paintings of peasants laboring in the rice paddies throughout the annual cycle combined the platform of “universal truth” about nature (seasonal array) with social and political messages which were less evident to all members of society. By making their work appear as natural as the setting in which they undertook it, the peasants were presented as a distinct social group working to sustain

² This is a general summary of many sources. See for example: *A dictionary of Japanese art terms, bilingual Japanese and English*. 和英対照日本美術用語辞典. 1990. Edited by: *Wa-Ei Taishō Nihon Bijutsu Yōgo Jiten Henshū Inkai*. 和英対照日本美術用語辞典編集委員会. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu. p. 262.

³ Shalmit Bejarano. 2001. *The Four Seasons Principle and Ideal Space: Annual Cycle in Screens and Wall Paintings – Depiction and Messages* (四季の原理と理想郷—障壁画に再現された四季の循環とそのメッセージ), *History of Art and Aesthetics*, Dōshisha University, Kyoto.

the food needs of all other members of society. This position was confirmed by the Confucian system, which sovereigns used to rule Japan from the most ancient imperial times through the shogunate of the nineteenth century.

And yet, the attempt to understand images of peasants and silk-weavers continued to produce troublesome questions. Agrarian themes were common in paintings from the Edo period (1603-1868). In fact, almost every well-known painter left at least one variation on this theme, and several hundreds of wall and door paintings are recorded today in museums and temples.⁴ In addition, a similar number of scrolls and votive tablets (絵馬, Jp. *ema*) on the theme have primarily attracted the attention of agricultural historians and museums of local histories.⁵ In other words, the legendary model by Liang Kai in the Ashikaga collection bore hundreds of offspring that spread throughout Japan in various media, which broadened their appeal to different

4 The most exhaustive lists are found in the appendixes to *Mizuho no kuni*, which lists approximately two-hundred wall and door paintings. Seventy additional paintings were recorded during the early twentieth century and are presumably lost today. This book also lists thirty-two lacquer utensils and seventy-three votive tablets (絵馬, Jp. *ema*) with agrarian motifs (but these are beyond the scope of this study). (Reizei Tamehito, 冷泉為人, 河野通明 Kōno Michiaki, 岩崎竹彦著 Iwasaki Takehiko, and 並木誠士 Namiki Seishi. 1996. *Mizuho no kuni-nihon: shiki kōsakuzu no sekai* 瑞穂の国・日本 - 四季耕作図の世界 [Rice Country: Japan--the World of Pictures of Agriculture in the Four Season]. Kyoto: Tankōsha.). p. 132-141.

There is no final number of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, because unknown works are still being discovered and because different scholars employ different criteria and titles. For example: scholars may exclude images by media (print), compositions with limited number of agrarian vignettes, or time period (modern). As I looked also at copies and prints, I can add to above lists more than thirty screen-paintings and handscrolls, some of which are models completed by Kano disciples for future usage, and do not appear in earlier lists of complete works. Agrarian motifs also appeared in print as both book illustrations and single prints of changing nature (from the technical to the pornographic). I refer to prints in the third chapter and suggest that different printed series exercised great influence on other prints and paintings.

The situation is different in the case of *Pictures of Sericulture* (see chapter 4). There are approximately twenty recorded screen-paintings and scrolls, but a much larger body of popular prints in various forms (printed books, ukiyo-e, various amulets) and of votive tablets. Most items are from the nineteenth century. For a listing of sericultural images, see: Fukushima Prefectural Museum, 福島県立博物館編, ed. 1998. *Ten no kinuito: hito to mushi no minzokushi : Nihonjin ni totte "ikimono" to wa, "shizen" to wa* 天の絹糸 : ヒトと虫の民俗誌 : 日本人にとって「生きもの」とは、「自然」とは 会津若松 . Aizuwakamatsu 会津若松: Fukushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan. p. 144-146.

5 Many agrarian images were produced in the Japanese countryside throughout the nineteenth century by anonymous artists. These often received the attention of local museums and agricultural associations, but did not enter artistic surveys. For such excellent collection, see: Satō Tsuneo 佐藤常雄, Tokunaga Mitsutoshi 徳永光俊, Eto Akihiko 江藤彰彦, and Inuzuka Kanji 犬塚幹士, eds. 1999. *Enōsho: 2 絵農書: 2. Vol. 72, Nihon nōsho zenshū* 日本農書全集. Tokyo: Nōsangyosonbunkakyōkai 農山漁村文化協会.

audiences. Tracing the history of the *Pictures of Agriculture* thus reveals a map of cultural distribution. Moreover, treating *Pictures of Agriculture* as a case-study suggests areas of change in art distribution and adaptations that are unique to both the *Pictures of Agriculture*, and to larger segments of art production in Japan. *Pictures of Agriculture* thus turn into an indicator of cultural change. In order to understand this claim, let us first consider the method of artistic transmission in early modern Japan.

1.1 THE MODEL-BOOK PRACTICE AND ART REPRODUCTION

One of the prevalent techniques of art transmission in Japan was repetitive copying. I use the English word “copy” as a translation of the Sino-Japanese term (写/寫, Jp. *sha*, Ch. *xie*), which was rooted in a philosophical approach to artistic reproduction.⁶ In the pre-modern Japanese and Chinese art worlds, copying or imitating a painting was perceived as following an ideal model.⁷ Additionally, artists exercised several forms of imitating older paintings besides “copying.” Kao Mayching lists the following techniques in traditional Chinese painting: “copying by tracing” (模/摹, Jp. *mo*, Ch. *mo*), “free-hand copy on sight” (臨, Ch. *lin*), “free copy not on sight” 仿 (Ch. *fang*), and “invention” (造, Ch. *zao*). *Mo* and *lin* were used primarily for documentation,

⁶ For a discussion of the term “copy”, see also: Ronald P. Toby. 2007. Originality of the 'copy' mimesis and subversion in Hanegawa Toei's Chōsenjin Ukie. In *The culture of copying in Japan: critical and historical perspectives*, edited by R. A. Cox. London; New York: Routledge. p. 71-110.

⁷ On modern criticism of copying, see: Thomas J. Rimer. 2003. An afterword posing as a foreword: Some comparative and miscellaneous thoughts on talent and training. In *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting*, edited by B. G. Jordan and V. L. Weston. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. xvii-xxii.

circulation, and perpetuation.⁸ In Confucian ideology, the orthodox was praised over the innovative. In China, copying had philosophical justification because of the Chinese painter and critic Xie He's (謝赫, fl. ca. 500-535) authoritative Six Laws of aesthetic judgment.⁹ By stating that “transmission by copying” (Ch. *moxie*) was one of the benchmarks of superior artists, Xie He associated copying classic paintings with the desired qualities of art production.

Master painters taught by presenting a model (手本, Jp. *tehon*) to their disciples, who copied the forms until they were able to create a work similar to the one presented by the teacher. Additionally, models were shown to patrons as catalogues of style (筆樣 Jp. *hitsuyō*) from which they commissioned themes and styles. Although various art schools in Japan used models as a means of practice, preservation, and transmission, the usage of model books is particularly associated with the Kano school of painters, who often referenced the Ashikaga collection of Chinese ink paintings.¹⁰ The Kano school of painters was a hereditary chain of workshops that exercised uncontested influence on the Japanese art world from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.¹¹ The school's masters perfected the use of model books to create an efficient and large network of painting schools under their guidance. Their practice of copy- or sketch- books

8 Namely, *fang* refers to copying in general, *lin* to copying without using a transparent paper, and *mo* to tracing with a transparent paper. “On sight” refers to sketching in front of the model (rather than from memory). Kao Mayching. 2006. Imitation and Innovation in Chinese Painting. In *Art and imitation in China*, edited by University of Hong Kong Museum and Art Gallery. Hong Kong: Oriental Ceramic Society of Hong Kong. p. 28-35.

9 The six laws relate to the six qualities of ink painting: energy, brushstrokes, forms, colors, composition, and transmission. They are brief and nebulous, but asserted much influence on artists in Japan and China. For a further discussion on the laws in English, see: Rebecca M. Brown and Deborah S. Hutton. 2006. *Asian art, Blackwell anthologies in art history* 2. Malden, MA ; Oxford: Blackwell Pub. p. 327-332.

10 Seishi Namiki 並木誠士. 2001. *Tehon*. In *Nihon bijutsu wo manabu hito no tame*. 日本美術を学ぶ人のため, edited by Kishi Fumikazu and Nakamura Kōji. Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha. p. 74-77.

11 Numerous studies of the Kano school were published in Japanese, many rely on the studies of Takeda Tsuneo. Among his important publications: Takeda Tsuneo, 武田恒夫. 1995. *Kano-ha kaigashi* 狩野派絵画史. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館; Takeda Tsuneo. 2002. *Kano-ha shōheiga no kenkyū: wayōka o megutte*. 狩野派障壁の研究: 和様化を巡って Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館. Unlike the central place of the Kano school in Japanese scholarship, the premodern Kano school received relatively limited attention in English (for example in the studies of Karen Gerhart, Eugene Phillips, Yukio Lippit, and Mathew McKelway).

(粉本, Jp. *funpon*)¹² was later termed *funponshugi* (粉本主義, copy-book-ism), a term that was used pejoratively in the modern period. Among the reasons for the devaluation of the *funpon* as a legitimate artistic technique was the large expansion of the Kano education system that led eventually to an inflated number of repeated models, making many of the reproductions seem trite and dated. Additionally, the fact that their leading workshops were employed by the Tokugawa shogunate led to an association of the Kano school with the faults of this decaying regime, and consequently generations of scholars referred to the concept of repetition or copying as a fault. The modern romantic image of the artist as a creative and authentic individual has veiled the perspective of historians in assessing the phenomenon of *funponshugi*. Scholars strove to prove that certain leading Kano artists in fact exhibited creativity and dynamism—despite their usage of *funpon*—in order to restore their place in the Japanese artistic canon.¹³ My study, however, concentrates on the copy as a conscious act of emulating one's predecessors in an attempt to preserve—not outdo or alternate—the essence of the model by repeating it.¹⁴ Understanding that copying was a reasoned, consciously undertaken act in the production of artwork, not a mere fall back to the prior success of others undertaken by secondary artists, is key to decoding the distribution and reception of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in early modern Japan.

12 Literally “powder book.” The term derived from the disciples’ practice to use *gofun* (gesso powder) to mark the outlines of the copied model. The term is, nevertheless, used for various kinds of sketching or copying a model. See: Brenda G. Jordan. 2003. Copying from beginning to end? Student life in the Kano school. In *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting*, edited by B. G. W. Jordan, Victoria. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 34.

13 See for example, Jordan’s treatment of Kawanabe Kyōsai (Jordan, 2003.p. 31-59), and Mason’s discussion of Kano Seisen’in in: Penelope E. Mason. 1988. Seisen’in and his Sketches. A Kano Master and Edo Castle. *Monumenta Nipponica* 43 (2):187-196.

14 On repetition and copy in Japanese culture, see also: Singleton, John Calhoun. 1998. Learning in likely places: varieties of apprenticeship in Japan, Learning in doing. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press; Cox, Rupert A. 2007. The culture of copying in Japan: critical and historical perspectives, Japan anthropology workshop series. London; New York: Routledge.

Turning to the past, thus, did not reflect the artists' inabilities but was rather associated with the Confucian worldview of the past as superior to the present, and was seen as respectfully following the path determined by one's masters and ancient sages. Chinese theoreticians often praised the aesthetics of the ancients in mystical terms. Two famous examples are Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322) and Dong Qichang (董其昌, 1555-1636).¹⁵ Their ideas were reflected in painting manuals that arrived in Japan from the sixteenth century onwards. Reproduction as an ideal, however, was not foreign to Japanese aesthetics prior to the Momoyama period (1573-1603), although aesthetic models were discussed primarily in relation to poetry. Particularly well-known is Fujiwara Shunzei's (藤原俊成, 1114-1204) directive: "traditional words, fresh treatment."¹⁶ With the development of theoretical painterly discourse in the Momoyama and Edo periods, local publications maintained the idea that a work of art should resonate the spirit of the great masters of the past.

Kano Yasunobu's (狩野安信, 1613-1685) *Gadō yōketsu* (画道要訣), which discusses paintings produced by innate talent (質画, Jp. *shitsuga*) versus training (学画, Jp. *gakuga*), is a prominent example of the importance of copying in education.¹⁷ Yet, copying and imitation should not be regarded as lack of authenticity. The fact that many artists were employed as authenticators (Tan'yū 探幽 and Nōami 能阿弥 are two famous examples), and the growing

15 Kao, 2006. p. 30-31.

16 言葉古く心新しい. This often quoted phrase mentioned for example in: Earl Roy Miner. 1985. *The Princeton companion to classical Japanese literature*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.p. 47.

17 This topic was discussed in several English publications. See for example, Brenda G. Jordan. 1998. Education in the Kano School in Nineteenth Century Japan: Questions about the Copy-book Method. In *Learning in likely places: varieties of apprenticeship in Japan*, edited by J. C. Singleton. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press.p. 45-67; Karen M. Gerhart. 2003. Talent, training, and power: the Kano painting workshop in the seventeenth century. In *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting*, edited by B. G. W. Jordan, Victoria. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.p. 9-30. John Rosenfeld, ed. 1992. *Competition and Collaboration: Hereditary Books in Japanese Culture*. Fenway Court, Boston: Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum.

usage of inscriptions and seals to prove the authenticity of scrolls testify that imitation was not about producing a copy that could be passed off as the original. Copying thus referred to the absorption of the inner values contained in formal characteristics. Consequently, I argue that the reproduction of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* is linked to the transmission of ideals, and reflects the discourse regarding contemporaneous social ideals.

1.1.1 Previous scholarship

Chinese *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* attracted the attention of European Sinologists beginning in the nineteenth century. Intrigued by the technical and historical value of the images, Otto Franke (1863-1946), Berthold Laufer (1874-1934), and Paul Pelliot (1878-1945), republished copies of the *gengzhitu* and analyzed the vignettes comprehensively.¹⁸ Despite inevitable inaccuracies, Pelliot's and Franke's works are important records of images and agricultural practices that were lost during the troubled century that followed their publication.

The monumental *Science and Civilization in China* (edited by Joseph Needham, 1900-1995) continued the above tradition by further contextualizing *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* within the vast history of Chinese technology. The volume *Agriculture* in this series (1984, edited by Francesca Bray) surveys ancient texts and reconstructs a detailed history of technological knowledge and its effects on Chinese economy and culture.¹⁹ In recent publications, Bray expanded her discussion of agrarian technologies to cultural and social prisms,

18 Otto Franke. 1913. *Keng tschi tu: Ackerbau und Seidengewinnung in China: ein kaiserliches Lehr- und Mahn-Buch*, [Gengzhitu: Agriculture and Sericulture in China: Imperial book of teaching and admonition] Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts ; Bd. 11. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co.; Paul Pelliot. 1913. *A propos du Keng tche t'ou*. [Regarding the gengzhitu] Memoires concernant l'asie orientale. Paris: Ernst Leroux; Berthold Laufer. 1912. The Discovery of a Lost Book. *T'oung Pao* 13:7-15.

19 Francesca Bray, ed. 1984. *Agriculture*. Edited by J. Needham, N. Sivini and Lu Gwei-Djen. Vol. 6, *Science and Civilisation in China*. Cambridge, UK Cambridge University Press.

particularly silk and gender, and on printed manuals with agricultural diagrams. Her studies, however, treat visual imagery primarily as illustrations for the written texts.²⁰

The most comprehensive study of the origin of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* is Roslyn Lee Hammers's doctoral dissertation *The Production of Good Government: Images of Agrarian Labor in Southern Song and Yuan China* (2002). Her study focuses on the images and poems of Lou Shu (樓璣, 1090-1162), a twelfth-century official who strove for agricultural reform, and he contextualizes the creation of the theme within its historic, economic, poetic and artistic background.²¹ An additional important source for my study of Chinese images is the bilingual edition *Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China* edited by Wang Chaosheng of the China Agricultural Museum (1995).²² This book is an encyclopedic survey of Chinese agrarian images from the Warring States period (475-221 BCE) to the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). It focuses on the formal aspect of the works, and its tone maintains a slight hint of nationalism, as one may expect of a work published by a national museum.

On the other hand, the artistic aspects of the many renderings of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* have been discussed in numerous exhibition catalogues and comprehensive anthologies of artists' *oeuvre* in China and Japan.²³ They customarily reproduce the conventional

20 Francesca Bray. 1997. *Technology and gender: fabrics of power in late imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press; Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métailie. 2007. *Graphics and text in the production of technical knowledge in China: the warp and the weft*, Sinica Leidensia. Leiden ; Boston: Brill.

21 Roslyn-Lee Hammers. 2002. *The Production of Good Government: Images of Agrarian Labor in Southern Song and Yuan China*, University of Michigan. Hammers is preparing her dissertation for publication under the title "Art, Labor, and Technology in Early Modern China: Lou Shu's Pictures of Tilling and Weaving."

22 Wang, Chaosheng 王潮生, ed. 1995. *Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China* (bilingual edition) 中国古代耕织图 (Zhongguo gu dai geng zhi tu). Edited by China Agricultural Museum (Zhongguo nongye bowuguan congshu) 中国农业博物馆编 Beijing: China Agricultural Press (Zhongguo nongye chubanshe).

23 Examples of catalogues in Japanese: Machida Municipal Museum 町田市立博物館. 1993. *Nōkōzu to nōkōgu ten* 「農耕図と農耕具」展 [Exhibition: Pictures of Agriculture and Agricultural Tools]. Machida: Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan; Suita Municipal Museum, 吹田市立博物館. 2000. *Nōkō no fūkei: settsu no shiki kōsakuzu* 農耕の風景: 摂津の四季耕作図. Osaka: Suita shiritsu hakubutsukan; Rittō Museum of Historical Folklore, 栗東歴

explanation I detailed in the beginning, and focus mainly on formal issues with additional comments on the particular style of a specific artist. Catalogues often depend on the supplies of local collections, and thus the largest selection of catalogues of agrarian images has been produced by Japanese regional museums. Interestingly, the oldest copies of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* are in American museums, where they are particularly valued for their antiquity and brush style.²⁴ In China, we must rely on studies of the development of the Chinese printing industry for information on the dissemination of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* during the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911). Of particular importance are the illustrated editions published by the early Qing emperors Kangxi (康熙, 1662-1723) and Qianlong (乾隆, 1711-1799) with western-style illustrations by Jiao Bingzhen (焦秉貞, fl. ca. 1689-1726). Many libraries around the world hold lavish copies of these editions, and at least two facsimiles were recently published.²⁵

Japanese scholarship is central to the study of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, because Japanese collections hold rare copies of long-lost Chinese images. Japanese scholars continue in the long tradition of studying and comparing Chinese sources. In the first half of the twentieth century, this interest in Chinese works took a significant turn with the launch of the so-called co-prosperity sphere. Among the prominent Japanese studies are those of Amano

史民族博物館. 1992. *Shiki kōsakuzu no sekai: egakareta nōji fūkei: kikakuten* 四季耕作図の世界: 画かれた農事風景: 企画展. [The World of Pictures of Agriculture in the Four Seasons: Painted Agricultural Landscapes (Exhibition Catalogue)] Shiga: Rittō Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan; Saga Prefectural Museum 佐賀県立美術館. 1988. *Denen fūzokuga-ten* 田園風俗画展. Saga kenritsu bijutsukan 佐賀県立美術館; Machida Municipal Museum 町田市立博物館. 2000. *Tawarakasane kōsaku emaki: Kōki Tei gyosei kōshokuzu* たはらかさね耕作絵巻: 康熙帝御製耕織図 [Scroll of abundant harvest/ Kangxi edition of Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture] Machida: Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.

²⁴ I refer here to the scroll in the Metropolitan museum collection, Freer Gallery, and the Cleveland Museum.

²⁵ Monnet, Nathalie, traduit du chinois par Bernard Fuhrer, and préface de Pierre-Jean Rémy. 2003. *Le Gengzhitu : le livre du riz et de la soie / poèmes de l'empereur Kangxi ; peintures sur soie de Jiao Bingzhen*. Paris: JC Lattès.

Motonosuke (天野元之助, 1901-1980), who was the first modern scholar to link Japanese paintings of agriculture with their ancient Chinese precedents. Greatly interested in and knowledgeable of both Chinese and Japanese culture, Amano based his studies partially on “discoveries” made by Japanese archeologists in China during the Japanese colonization.

From a post-colonial perspective, this comparative study of China and Japan is ideologically charged, and this is one of the reasons why most contemporary studies diplomatically circumvent issues of cultural influence, although—as I argue in this dissertation—China’s image within Japanese culture is fundamental to interpreting the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. The Japanese sinologist Watabe Takeshi (渡部武) of Tōkai University published authoritative articles on *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in both China and Japan.²⁶ Watabe perceives the theme as a unified Sino-Japanese continuum, and draws a “family tree” of the theme’s development within which Chinese works and their Japanese copies are set interchangeably. A different approach is offered by the economic historian Kōno Michiaki (河野通明) of Kanagawa University. Kōno’s interpretation emphasizes the deviations of the Japanese artworks from their Chinese forerunners, and interprets their development as an independent current within Japanese visual culture. Kōno published extensively on *Pictures of Agriculture in the Four Seasons*, and is no doubt the leading scholar on this theme. Both Watabe and Kōno surveyed the formal characteristics of the artworks in meticulous detail, provided lineages of iconographical influences, and characterized the images as documentations of agrarian history. My research is greatly indebted to the work of both Kōno and Watabe, and heavily relies on their

26 Both Bray (2007) and Wang (1995) are indebted to Watabe Takeshi, 渡部武 1986. Chūgoku nōsho "kōshokuzu" no ryūden to sono eikyō nitsuite 中国農書「耕織図」の流伝とその影響について [About the Spread and Influences of Chinese “Pictures of Tilling and Weaving”]. *Proceedings of the Faculty of Letters of Tokai University* 東海大学紀要. 文学部 46:1-36.

findings. Yet, I argue that there was a somewhat different pattern of cultural dissemination. I suggest that for Japanese artists and patrons, the Chinese aura of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* was an important component in the overall absorption of the theme. This Chinese flavor contributed to the works' ideological authority, which lingered as an "other" throughout the theme's development and stylistic changes. In order to better explain my argument, it is important to add a few more words on the significance of rice to Japanese self-identity.

1.2 RICE CULTIVATION AND JAPANESE IDENTITY

The *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* concentrate on labor, technology, and the countryside. These three aspects have been acknowledged by various scholars as being cultural constructs. Francesca Bray writes: "work produces a whole range of goods, not just a material product, a commodity with a calculable economic value. It can express an identity, confer respect or prestige, and naturalize social hierarchies."²⁷ Bray is referring to silk in this quote, but the same is applicable to rice. In Japan, rice more than any other commodity is tightly linked to identity, prestige and social hierarchy. The late historian Amino Yoshihiko (網野善彦, 1928-2004) wrote many of the seminal works on the study of production and social structure in premodern Japan; his work links rice cultivation with imperial authority and social hierarchy.²⁸ Accordingly, while modern Japanese society imagines itself as a collection of farming communities unified under imperial rule beginning in the Yayoi period (ca. 3rd c. BCE-3rd c. CE),

²⁷ Francesca Bray. 1995. Textile Production and Gender Roles in china, 1000-1700. *Chinese Science* 12:115-137.p. 115.

²⁸ Amino Yoshihiko. 1996. Emperor, Rice, and Commoners In *Multicultural Japan: palaeolithic to post-modern*, edited by D. Denoon and G. McCormack. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.p. 235-244.

medieval texts point to a social organization comprised of large communities of artisans who did not recognize themselves as being under the court's authority. Amino problematized many accepted truisms regarding the role of the imperial court as a unifying and revered force, and consequently of rice agriculture as the base for the Japanese economy and social development throughout history. It is noteworthy that the discourse concerning the uniqueness of Japan and the Japanese emerged in the writings of *kokugaku* (nativist) scholars concurrently with the flourishing of the *Pictures of Agriculture*. I argue, thus, that the *Pictures of Agriculture*—both the paintings and their later interpretations—reflect the gradual consolidation of this discourse.

To use the terminology of Roland Barthes, Amino proved that the concept of historical Japan as a group of rice communities unified by imperial rule is a “myth.”²⁹ Namely, the representation of ideologically-charged narratives as if they were natural and spontaneous occurrences creates the impression that reality is objectively documented, which confirms the spectator's impression that his or her understanding of the painting is not based on ideology but on the “truth.” Consequently, I argue that the nostalgic images of the Japanese countryside are actually ideologically-charged narratives. The impression that the images are documenting actual events necessitates reading them as calls to follow and support the authoritative ideology they convey.

Of particular importance to the analysis of rice as a cultural construct is Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's book *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*.³⁰ Tierney analyzes the fundamental place of rice—both as food, as landscape, and as cultural imagery—in the modern Japanese identity. Accordingly, throughout Japanese history rice has alluded to wealth, power,

29 Barthes developed the analysis of the “falsely obvious” as “myth” in: Roland Barthes. 1972. *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang.

30 Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. 1993. *Rice as self: Japanese identities through time*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

and beauty, and symbolized the essence of Japan in its pure form. As a result, images of rice are used to distinguish the Japanese self from its Others, and often bear discreet nationalistic tones.³¹ Japan's ultimate Others, prior to the nineteenth century, were the Chinese.³² Tierney's thought-provoking discussion is rooted in the rethinking of Japanese nationalism that followed the death of emperor Shōwa in 1989. However, Japanese art history is still somewhat tainted with nationalist, orientalist, and counter-orientalist³³ views that veil the reassessment of early modern images.

Linking the landscape of the countryside, nostalgic images of peasants, and nationalism is by no means unique to the Japanese case. In his introduction to *Landscape and Power*, W.T.J. Mitchell develops this concept to suggest that landscape and power are linked. Landscape paintings are reflections of both social circumstances and identities; they are part of the process that forms social circumstances and molds identities. Looking at images of landscape, the beholder is given a twofold message: first, the artificial view appears to represent the "given and inevitable" state of affairs, and thus confirms the viewer's worldview. Second, the landscape

31 I use the term "other" in relation to structuralist theories of the construction of the self vis-à-vis an "other." This model was applied in various aspects of the Japanese cultural sphere. See for example: Chino Kaori. 2003. Gender in Japanese Art. In *Gender and power in the Japanese visual field*, edited by J. S. Mostow, N. Bryson and M. Graybill. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press; Sakaki Atsuko. 2006. *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese polarity in Japanese literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

32 In general, despite encounters with various nations throughout its history, Japanese culture recognized two primary Others: the Tang culture in the premodern era, and the West since the modern era. These became signifiers of outsiders in the popular imagery. See for example: Suzuki Keiko. 2007. The Making of Tōjin: Construction of the Other in Early Modern Japan. *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 (1/2):83-105; Toby, Ronald P. 2001. Three Realms/ Myriad Countries: An "Ethnography" of the Other and the Re-bounding of Japan 1550-1750 In *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, edited by K. W. Chow, K. M. Doak and P. Fu. An Arbor: Michigan University Press. See also the discussion in 3.2.7.2.

33 Counter-Orientalism, a post-colonial term, refers to the adoption of Orientalist perspective in the construction of the self in Asia. See, for example: Brian Moeran. 1996. The Orient Strikes Back: Advertising and Imaging Japan. In *Theory, Culture and Society*. 13(3): 77-112.

imposes on the beholder a role in that represented worldview.³⁴ This imagined role is operational, since it extends from the painted world to “real” society. Mitchell writes:

*[This book] asks that we think of landscape, not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed. [...] Landscape, we suggest, doesn't merely signify or symbolize power relation; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power that is (or frequently represents itself as) independent of human intentions. Landscape as a cultural medium thus has a double role with respect to something like ideology: it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable, and it also makes that representation operational by interpellating its beholder in some more or less determinate relation to its givenness as sight and site.*³⁵

While Mitchell's book primarily focuses on European imperialism, his main thesis—that landscape paintings are ideological and authoritarian—is fundamentally what I am trying to claim in this dissertation. Although *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* are categorized as “figure paintings” (人物画) rather than “landscape paintings” (山水画) according to the Sino-Japanese system, they do allocate the majority of their space to bucolic views and the changing of the seasons. Their pastoral and somewhat pedagogical nature conceals the fact that they were produced and displayed at times of political change and ideological unrest. In order to analyze these agrarian images as instruments for cultural change, rather than the “given and inevitable” life of the farmers, this dissertation links issues of political power and pictorial representation.

In my writing I repeat the terms “ideological” and “political.” There is no general agreement of the definition of these terms and their role in art. “Ideology” is defined by the Grove Dictionary of Art as:

34 Mitchell is applying Louis Althusser's approach to ideology.

35 Thomas W. J. Mitchell. 1994. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 1-2.

*Term applied primarily to sets of beliefs that are explicitly held by social groups, are general in scope and have practical implications for participation in social life. The topic of these beliefs need not itself be social [...]. Ideological analysis locates beliefs in their social or historical context and indicates homologies between patterns of beliefs and social structures, but at the same time it contests their justification.*³⁶

The term political, as I see it, is almost identical to ideological, but it is less general. The authoritative *Grove Dictionary of Art*, however, pronounces the more commonly accepted view that politics is “pertaining to formal political entities, such as the state, and political organizations, such as political parties.”³⁷ Accordingly, politics is dependent on the state structure, and art can be political only if it has been produced in service of, or against, specific acts taken by the government or its opponents. For me, every act is grounded in an ideological worldview and thus carries a political message. Below I use the term political to encompass all acts that derive from power relations, or aim at confirming or contesting hierarchies.

1.3 DISSERTATION SUMMARY

This dissertation examines several case-studies of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, and links changes in their formal evolution with changing ideological discourse during early modern Japan.

The first chapter emphasizes that images of rice harvesting symbolized the legitimacy of the sovereign and surveys the political nuances incorporated into the *Pictures of Agriculture and*

³⁶ Sebastian Gardner. "Ideology." In *Grove Art Online*. Oxford Art Online, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T039833> (accessed February 18, 2010).

³⁷ Noël Carroll et al. Politics and Aesthetics. In *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly. Oxford Art Online, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t234/e0409> (accessed February 18, 2010).

Sericulture from its inception in China to its initial renderings in Japan. While the theme was rooted in the ancient poetic tradition of the *Book of Odes* (詩經, Ch. *Shijing*), the formulation of the image into a canonized series of vignettes occurred in the twelfth century. Similar ideology was imported into the Japanese court, where images of rice harvesting came to serve as a metonym for righteous rule in early Japanese artworks and poetry. However, records do not indicate the existence of *Pictures of Agriculture* in Japan until the rather late date of 1437, in which the theme is said to be found in the shogun's palace Muromachi-dono (室町殿).³⁸ This, combined with a 1487 entry in the diary *Inryōken nichiroku* (蔭涼軒日録) referring to a room décor in the shogun's Higashiyama palace,³⁹ suggests that agrarian motifs were linked to public spaces commissioned by the Ashikaga shoguns from the beginning of their decline. Through a careful reconstruction of these now-lost spaces, I argue that the appearance of agrarian motifs was related to the power struggle between the court and the shoguns. Subsequently, I revisit the oldest existing example of a room with agrarian images at the Daisen'in Temple (大仙院). I point out discrepancies between the wall-paintings and the copy of a lost scroll attributed to Liang Kai, which is accepted to be the model used by the Daisen'in's painters. Through meticulous comparison, I demonstrate that the rendering in the Zen temple deliberately altered all figures that suggested intrusions into the natural cycle and social control in the original scroll, and as a result eliminated authoritative messages; an act, I contend, which demonstrates awareness of the political implications of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. Consequently, I argue that the ideological message of the theme was well understood by the

38 Reizei et al., 1996, p.13.

39 For a discussion of the *Inryōken nichiroku*, see: Phillips, 2000, p. 18.

producers and spectators of this theme, and that the choice to manipulate the political messages depended on the patrons.

The second chapter interprets the Japanization of the model-book of *Pictures of Agriculture* by the Kano school painters. Through the examination of Kyoto-Kano artworks that demonstrate the conversion of Chinese motifs into Japanese agrarian genre scenes, I return to the accepted notion that the Kano style was born from the combination of Chinese and Japanese styles. Additionally, I reexamine the assumption that the Japanized works offered a fresh look at the actual peasants, and suggest that representations of the harmonious countryside resulted from nostalgia for an imagined past that was part of the animosity towards the strengthening rice merchants and corruption of the rice-based economy. I suggest that the tendency to interpret the *Pictures of Agriculture* as reflections of an ideal past are linked to the *kokugaku* (nativist) discourse regarding the pure Japanese identity that was symbolically embodied in rice agriculture. In the modern period, the country's imagined past was constructed according to premodern elite culture, which led to the assumption that the *Pictures of Agriculture* documented actual events rather than artistic and intellectual discourse.

My discussion in this chapter is based on close analysis of the following works: (1) the Hori family model (堀家本) - a copy of a Japanized model of *Pictures of Agriculture* attributed to Kano Sansetsu (狩野山雪, 1589-1651). Scholars view this rare copy as evidence of the Kano school's famous combination of "Chinese" and "Japanese" styles, and point to the idiosyncratic characteristics of the scroll. I emphasize, on the other hand, that the Japanization process does not demand rejection of Chinese constructs, but rather expresses an ambivalent stance towards the authority of the Chinese model. This ambiguity, I propose, indicates a change in the construction of agrarian ideals and their absorption into the Japanese self-identity. Moreover, I

suggest that this scroll and other agrarian models that were recorded in the *Kōsoshū* (後素集) treatise on painting were based on printed agrarian manuals and not on elitist ink paintings. Consequently, I argue that the role of printed Chinese books in the creation of the canon practiced by the Kano school was greater than hitherto thought. (2) Kano Einō's (狩野永納, 1631-1697) reproduction of a Ming-dynasty book that retold the story and replicated the original paintings and poems of Lou Shu's *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* supports this assumption. Einō converted selected vignettes from the Chinese book and adapted them into Yamato-e style paintings with countrified genre-scenes. (3) The *Tawarakasane* Scroll (俵重絵巻, Scroll of abundant harvest) is used in history textbooks to illustrate the lives of early modern farmers. It includes a rare text on agrarian activities that suggests that the scroll was also used in the Edo period as a means of socialization. I use this scroll as a platform to discuss similarities between the proto-nationalistic discourse of rice agriculture and the modern discourse of agrarianism (農本主義, Jp. *nōhonshugi*).

In the third chapter I continue my discussion of the model-books by examining the appearance of *Pictures of Agriculture* in popular printed books of the mid-Edo period (late seventeenth- to the mid-eighteenth centuries). The focus of my examination is the painter Tachibana Morikuni (橘守国, 1679-1748), whose printed painting manuals are thought to reveal the clandestine model-books of the Kano school to the painters outside this guild-like school. In my discussion I show that although Morikuni's erudition and manner of painting clearly testify to Kano practices, the distribution of agrarian images was evident in earlier illustrated books. For example, we can recognize agricultural and sericultural vignettes already in popular guidebooks and home encyclopedias, such as the *Nōgyō zensho* (農業全書, Complete Book of Agriculture, 1696) and the *Onna daigaku takara bako* (女大学宝箱, Treasure box of the

great learning for women, 1718). Thus I propose that Morikuni, along with earlier illustrators of genroku era (1688-1703), adapted many of their vignettes from Chinese manuals and encyclopedias (such as the 三才圖繪 Ch. *Sancai tuihui*). This adaptation converged in the painterly traditions of the Kano school, and in turn contributed to the dispersion of motifs that were primarily associated with this school. The change of technique and medium—from drawings used as models by a limited group to mass-produced prints—did not alter the Confucian message of the original iconography, nor did it lessen the theme's instructive power. It was perhaps these same ideological messages that contributed in the long run to the dispersion of the *Pictures of Agriculture* in its printed format, since the images were in accord with the policies of the shogunate.

Confucian undertones are detected also in the introduction to Morikuni's manual *Ehon tsūhōshi* (絵本通宝志, Illustrated book of tradable treasures, 1729). In his writing, Morikuni directly addresses questions of painterly transmission and copying and refers to Xie He's Six Laws; he attributes his motivation to publish painting manuals to righteous Confucian ideals. Morikuni's references to theoretical treatises about art testify that these were not rare by the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth-century, thus suggesting that the tendency to see Morikuni as deliberately transgressing the Kano school's codes is ahistorical and mistaken.

I also argue that because of the link between agrarian images and Confucian world order, references to agrarian themes in *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints were aimed at parodying the shogunal regime. Analyzing brothel scenes by Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信, fl. 1765-1770), I propose that by copying vignettes from painting manuals Harunobu practiced traditional transmission techniques. At the same time, Harunobu subversively decontextualized the vignettes by

juxtaposing the model traditional figures with the pleasure quarters. Thus the new appropriation satirized the ideological messages of the original imagery.

The fourth chapter concentrates on *Pictures of Sericulture*. Examination of *Nihon shoki* (720 CE) suggests that like rice, silk production connoted imperial authority in ancient Japan. Likewise, depictions of sericulture were equally important as depictions of rice agriculture in the Chinese imperial canon. However, while *Pictures of Agriculture* were canonized by the Kano school, *Pictures of Sericulture* seem to have lost favor with their patronage. Despite a number of excellent sketches and *funpon* with sericultural imagery that survived from the early modern period, the actual number of recorded paintings does not surpass two dozen. Moreover, sericulture as a theme attracted limited scholarly attention; most studies concentrated on the technical and social aspects of silk production and ignored the intellectual and cultural implications that are involved in the display of female figures. This process is particularly intriguing when we compare it to the expansion of *Pictures of Agriculture*. Namely, while the production of both rice and silk as commodities increased in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and both themes were Japanized when painted (as we witness in the *Tawarakasane* scroll), rice agriculture turned into a canonic theme and a national symbol while commissions of *Pictures of Sericulture* decreased sharply. Building on studies by feminist art historians Haraguchi Shizuko and Mori Rie, and on Francesca Bray's study of sericulture as gynotechnology in China, I argue that the gradual exclusion of the theme from public spaces in Japan was due to the association of sericulture with femininity. Furthermore, the identification was not limited to women as such, but referred to issues of feminine identity. During the shogunal regime, and to a much greater extent during the Meiji period (1868-1912), national Japanese identity went through a process of masculinization that led to a gradual marginalization

of feminine identity in the public discourse.⁴⁰ Due to their feminine symbolism, *Pictures of Sericulture* could no longer serve as authoritative or pedagogical themes and lost their canonic significance. Concurrently, *Pictures of Sericulture* were picked up by *ukiyo-e* artists. For this popular art form, female figures were not only a major subject but—because of the identification of the regime with masculinity—subversive. Within this theoretical platform, I interpret images of weaving women as ideological satires of the Confucian values presented in edifying books for women.

In conclusion, examining alternations of agrarian iconography in early modern Japanese paintings sheds light on broader cultural undercurrents. My study emphasizes in particular the lingering shadow of Chinese models as Others throughout the consolidation of the Japanese agrarian and proto-industrialized “self,” and the importance of painted imagery in the imagining of proto-nationalistic identity. The construction of this identity eventually contributed to modern scholars’ idealization of the Japanese agrarian past and the commoners’ harmony with the centralized rule. In this dissertation I thus demonstrate that contextualizing the agrarian imagery within long traditions of painterly transmission and reception, assists in indicating places of political sensitivity, traces the changing sense of identity, and underscores our understanding of the importance of Chinese manuals in the creation of the Japanese artistic canon.

40 Chino, 2003. p.33.

2.0 CHAPTER 1: PICTURES OF AGRICULTURE AND SERICULTURE: CHINESE ORIGIN AND EARLY RECEPTION IN JAPAN

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 1

This chapter focuses on an artwork that no longer exists: a set of two scrolls—one of agricultural scenes, the other of sericultural scenes— attributed to the Southern Song painter Liang Kai (梁楷, end of 12th – beginning of 13th c.). Below I first discuss the pedigree of these scrolls in China, and then their absorption into the Japanese canon. I argue that the reception of the Chinese works and the commissioning of their later Japanese adaptations were linked to their reputation in the Chinese imperial court. This reputation was important to the Ashikaga shoguns, whose attempts to solidify authority were accompanied by great investment in cultural capital.⁴¹ In semiotic terms, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were thus signifiers of political legitimacy. The following paragraphs detail the cultural baggage the images carried in China, and the earliest records written about them in Japan.

⁴¹ The Tokugawa shoguns invested in the arts as means to solidify their authority. See: Gerhart, Karen M. 1999. *The eyes of power art and early Tokugawa authority*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

2.2 CHINA: PICTURES OF AGRICULTURE AND SERICULTURE AND IMPERIAL RULE

2.2.1 Images of Agriculture and Sericulture: Precedents

Established at the end of the twelfth-century in China, the genre titled *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* is related to earlier pictorial traditions. It is plausible that such early traditions filtered into Japan prior to the Muromachi period (1333-1573) and influenced the creation of visual and poetic representations that preceded the absorption of the scroll attributed to Liang Kai in the fifteenth-century. As these precedents contributed to the construction of the visual motifs and their embedded messages, I survey some of their aspects below. I divide these early traditions of agrarian representations into political, poetic, and technical representations, although all works contain varying degrees of these elements.

2.2.2 Political representations of agriculture

As is often the case, images of poor people were used to stress ideological views that were detached from the actual lives of the farmers. It is thus necessary to examine images in light of the interests of the patronage.

2.2.2.1 Heavenly Mandate and Early Agrarian Images at Court

Rice cultivation and silk weaving in ancient China must be understood as linked to imperial sovereignty. Although commoners carried out the actual labor, the imperial bureaucracy managed the production by allocating lands and determining taxes. This mutual dependence

between the emperor, who relied on the the orderly paying of the taxes, and the commoners, who relied on the emperor for protection, was supported by the Confucian belief in the mandate of heaven (天命). The heavenly mandate states that an imperial dynasty maintains its powers as long as it balances its needs with those of its subjects. Hence, promulgating harmony in all aspects of life leads to an auspicious existence.

Court rituals manifested the magical thinking incorporated in this philosophical belief. The *Book of Rites* (禮記, Ch. *Liji*, 5th c. BCE) recorded that at the beginning of every spring the Chinese emperor performed a ritual plowing, and the empress undertook a ceremonial picking of mulberry leaves.⁴² These acts symbolically regenerated the universal energies and assured an abundant harvest. Moreover, because of the symbolism attached to agriculture and sericulture, these acts ensured the reoccurrence of the annual cycle (seasonal change) and the stability of social distinctions and gender roles. The commission of art objects depicting and describing plowing and weaving were part and parcel of these symbolic acts.

Ancient texts testify to a mythical relation between the righteous ruler and his agricultural administration. In fact, wrote Bray, all the political philosophers of the late Zhou (1066-221 BCE) “insisted on the importance of encouraging the peasants to farm efficiently (and of discouraging them from dissipating their energies in other, less fundamental activities); the legalists were particularly insistent on the causal relation between agricultural prosperity and political power.”⁴³ These philosophical texts were carefully studied by the imperial administration and influenced its policy. Moreover, this approach led to various artistic representations of agricultural and sericultural techniques in the imperial court.

42 Evelyn Sakakida Rawski and Jessica Rawson. 2005. *China: the three emperors, 1662-1795*. London: Royal Academy of Arts. p. 444.

43 Bray, 1984. p. 48.

Farming and weaving were considered a fixed thematic set which symbolized the labor and livelihood of the common people (庶民). Based on the assumption that good rulers know the hardships of their subjects, imperial patronage for images of laboring farmers created the emperors' image as benefactors who put before their eyes the needs of their subjects. In other words, these representations were appropriate for the genre *Pictures of Admonitions by Means of Paragon* (勸戒図, Jp: *kankaizu*), and rulers thought it necessary to surround themselves with these images.⁴⁴

Early historical records suggest that plowing and weaving were already established themes in court in the Tang Dynasty (618-907), though the earliest descriptions of such images date back to the Song Dynasty.⁴⁵ For our discussion it is important to examine records from the Southern Song Dynasty, as this is the date for the consolidation of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* as a painting theme. According to *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* (建炎以來繫年要錄, Records of important affairs since the beginning of the Jianyan, ca. early 13th c.), the Emperor Gaozong (高宗, r.1127-1163) of the Song dynasty said:

44 Pictures of admonition were associated with Confucian morals and model sages in China, and were favored in Japan by the Kanō school (*A dictionary of Japanese Art Terms*, 1990. p. 126). This is also the case with the early production of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in Japan.

45 Watabe lists also the following historical anecdotes:

Wang Yuling (王应麟, d. 1296) in *Yu Hai* (玉海, completed 1252) notes that emperor Shizong (世宗, 954-959) cared for farming and thought about agricultural matters. Therefore he ordered officials to make wooden carvings in the shape of farming men, weaving women and silkworm-raising girls and installed them in the palace. There is also evidence that these painting themes were not mandatory, but were consciously selected the emperor. The compilation *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* (建炎以來繫年要錄, Records of important affairs since the beginning of the Jianyan [1127-1130]) comments that the Tang Dynasty palace displayed illustrations to the *Wuyi* (無逸, Against luxurious ease) of the *Shujing* (書經, Classic of documents). These images are associated with husbandry. Later these images were replaced by landscape paintings (山水). Under the rule of emperor Renzong of the Northern Song Dynasty (仁宗, r. 1022-1063) scenes of agriculture and sericulture were painted in the Pavilion of Eternal Spring (延春閣). During the reign of Zhezong (哲宗, 1076-1100) these scenes were again replaced with landscapes. (Watabe, 1986. p. 3).

*In my opinion, rearing silkworms should be done in the imperial palace, so that all will know the hardships of farm work. Our forefathers had ordered to have the farm household silkworm rearing and silk weaving painted in detail on the opposite inner walls of the Yanchunge (延春閣, Pavilion of Eternal Spring).*⁴⁶

Gaozong is referring to frescoes decorating the walls of one of the court pavilions, which no longer exists.⁴⁷ This quote suggests that sericultural images were considered traditional already in the twelfth-century. There is also evidence that these themes were painted outside of the court, in places that symbolized court authority. For example, a Yuan compilation *Daoyuan xue gu lu* (道園學古錄) discusses a gate leading to the Jun Prefecture municipality that was erected during the Song dynasty.⁴⁸ The eastern and western sides of the gate were painted with scenes of agriculture and sericulture. These historical records indicate a connection between the court's authority and the commission and display of agrarian images in the Southern Song and the Yuan courts.

2.2.3 Poetic representations of agriculture

Agricultural images were prevalent also in Chinese poetic traditions. Particularly well known are the classic *Book of Odes* (詩經, Ch. *Shijing*), and the poems of Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846) that were memorized by generations of educated people in China and Japan.

46 Translated in: Wang, 1995.p. 35. If, as the name suggests, this pavilion was identified with ideal space (since eternal spring alludes paradise), then the choice to decorate it with agricultural and sericultural themes may further suggests that agrarian themes connoted ideal society.

47 Wang, 1995. p.35.

48 Watabe, 1986. p. 3. The *Daoyuan xue gu lu* is a collection of the works of Yu Ji (1272-1348), who was from the circle of Zhao Mengfu. See: Uta Lauer. 2002. *A master of his own: The Calligraphy of the Chan Abbot Zhongfeng Mingben* (1262-1323). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. p. 71.

2.2.3.1 “The Seventh Month”

The song “Seventh Month” (七月, Ch: *Qiyue*) from the chapter *Bin feng* (邶風, *Airs of the State of Bin*) of the *Book of Odes* is a key text in my analysis of farming images.⁴⁹ This classic compilation is comprised of poems from the seventeenth to the fifth-century BCE; within which “Seventh Month” is believed to be an ancient folk song collected by the elite in an attempt to “ascertain what the common people were thinking”.⁵⁰ It opens with the words “the seventh month” and continues to list farming customs by month in a repetitive manner, suggesting the monotonous rhythm of the laborers’ movement. Lines 4-11 read:

*In the days of the second, the air is cold.
Without the clothes and garments of hair,
How could we reach the end of the year?
In the days of the third [month], to the plows;
In the days of the fourth, to the fields,
With my wife and child,
I carry food to the southern acres.
The surveyor of fields comes and is pleased.*⁵¹

These lines portray the pastoral background of a field in early spring; against this background are the hard-working and anxious farmer who plows (the speaker), his wife and child who bring him his food, and a field surveyor who comes to estimate the yield for taxes. These exact motifs

49 Ma Hezhi’s treatment of the *Book of Odes* is unique throughout Chinese art history. It is meticulously studied in: Julia K. Murray. 1993. *Ma Hezhi and the illustration of the book of Odes*. Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press; Julia K. Murray. 1997b. Illustrations of “Seventh Month” in the *Odes of Pin*: The Evolution of a Theme.” *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 32 nos. 2 and 3 (May-June / July-August 1997): 1-41.

50 Lisa Lee Peterson. 1996. Who does the weaving, who wears the robe? Didactic poems and pictures of ancient Chinese weavers *Arts of Asia* 26 (3):54-63. p. 54.

51 Murray, 1997b. p. 33.

appear in the illustration of *The Airs of Bin* by Ma Hezi (馬和之, fl. 12th c.)(figure 1).⁵² According to the art historian Julia Murray, this image was commissioned by the Song court; it became well known and influenced all later renditions. These illustrations were traditionally idyllic, and alluded to the days of the sage-kings and thus signified “good government.”⁵³ This combination of admonishment and nostalgia lingers throughout the pictorial tradition of agrarian images in China and later in Japan.

Some of the leitmotifs in this poem maintained their significance for generations of poets and artists: the relationship between the changing seasons and the successive agricultural activities, a mother bringing food to the field-workers, and the presence of field surveyors. These were understood to be symbols of fertility and of a well-administered and orderly society.

2.2.3.2 Elegiac Poems in China

The pictorial traditions that developed from the “Seventh Month” can be separated into elegiac poems narrating the hardships of the farmers, and pastoral images signifying the imperial promotion of agriculture (see below). An example of the elegiac tradition is the canonical poem by the Tang-dynasty poet Li Shen (李紳, 772-846):

*Hoeing the crops under the hot sun,
Sweat drips onto the soil beneath the crops.
Who realizes the rice in the bowl,
Each and every grain is hard labor.*⁵⁴

52 The scroll is in the Metropolitan Museum collection. The images are reproduced and discussed also in: Fong Wen. 1992. *Beyond representation: Chinese painting and calligraphy, 8th-14th century*, Princeton monographs in art and archaeology; 48. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press.

53 Murray, 1997b. p.25.

54 Translation in: Wu Sue-mei, Yu Yueming, Zhang Yanhui, and Tian Weizhong. 2005. *Chinese Link: Zhongwen Tiandi (Elementary Chinese)*. New Jersey: Pearson/Prentice Hall Publisher.p. 178.

In the first two lines of the poem the speaker identifies with the laboring farmer. In the second part the speaker turns to the readers and asks them to think about the source of their food. The poem implies that the reader should feel gratitude for the farmer's efforts and pity the farmers as well. Is the intention to inspire mercy in the reader while justifying the fate of the farmers, or is it to subvert a system in which one sweats bitterly while another enjoys the fruits of abuse? In other words, is this a political call for the social or taxation system to be revisited? There is no ready reply to this question, which repeats throughout this dissertation, and thus we need to examine poems and images case-by-case. Still, in many Chinese and Japanese cases, compassion for the farmers was used as an excuse to continue their abuse and legitimize the sovereignty of the elite.

The canonical Tang poets Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen (元稹, 799-831) also wrote heart-wrenching lines about the misery of rice farmers and weaving women, who were left to starve after paying as taxes the little they managed to produce (see also chapter 5.2.3).⁵⁵ It is likely that these poems were appreciated in the Japanese court, given to the great influence of Tang poetry on Japanese poets during the Heian period (794-1185).⁵⁶

2.2.3.3 Images of Agriculture in Japanese Poems

Early Japanese poetry also referred to the laboring farmers, and linked sadness with their hard work. A poem by the Japanese Emperor Tenji (天智天皇, 626-672) reads:

秋の田

"In the Autumn Fields"

⁵⁵ For a discussion of poetry with agrarian allusions, see: Hammers, 2002. p. 336-338.

⁵⁶ Bai Juyi was famous in Japan already during his lifetime, and influenced the development of *waka* poetry during the Heian Period (794-1185) (*Kōdansha encyclopedia of Japan* (electronic edition). 1999. Tokyo; New York: Kōdansha).

かりほの庵の	<i>The hut, the temporary hut [alternately: the reaped ears of rice]</i>
とまをあらみ	<i>The thatch of it is rough</i>
わが衣手は	<i>And so the sleeves of my robe</i>
露にぬれつつ	<i>Get wet night by night with dew.</i> ⁵⁷

This poem portrays a lonely hut with a coarse thatched roof; an image that brings deep sadness to the speaker (dew conventionally symbolizes tears). Interpretations of this poem vary, particularly concerning the identity of the speaker and the reading of the expression *kariho* (かりほ), which can be understood as both a temporary hut and reaped ears of rice (刈り穂). Early modern scholars read the poem as an expression of the emperor's sympathies for the harvesting farmers; their rough livelihood and hard work filled his heart with compassion.⁵⁸

During the time of Emperor Tenji, the Japanese court implemented the political approaches of the Tang court. Emperor Tenji was a key player in the Taika reforms (ca. 645 CE, 大化の改新, Jp. *Taika no kaishin*), extensive nationalization of all agrarian lands and their reallocation according to Confucian ideals of equality and harmony.⁵⁹ Within this background it is important to note that, despite the formal differences, Emperor Tenji's poem expresses similar themes to those we found in the Chinese tradition. Similarly it expresses sadness at the sight of the farmers' wretched lives; his sympathy, nonetheless, portrays him as the ideal of a benevolent sovereign according to the rationale of the heavenly mandate. This poem, I argue, confirms

57 Joshua S. Mostow. 1992. Painted Poems, Forgotten Words: Poem-Pictures and Classical Japanese Literature. *Monumenta Nipponica* 47 (3):323-346. p.343.

58 Early modern scholars revisited Emperor Tenji poetry according to principles of *kogaku* (ancient learning) and *kokugaku* (national learning), after his writing was rather obscure for medieval scholars. It is impossible to distinguish their Neo-Confucian worldview from their reinterpretation of Tenji's poem as an ideal Confucian ruler. For a detailed discussion of analysis of *kariho*, see: Joshua S. Mostow. 1996. *Pictures of the heart : the Hyakunin isshu in word and image*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 29-35. See also chapter 4.2.2 below.

59 This is a very simplified way to present this complex political attempt, which allocated some rights to the farmers, although it favored the aristocracy. Varley, Paul. 2000. *Japanese Culture*. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press. p.27.

Emperor Tenji's political mandate. Hence with the fall of the Heian court, Fujiwara Teika (藤原定家, 1162-1241) selected "In the Autumn Fields" to open the anthology *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets* (百人一首).

Teika's taste in poetry inclined to melancholic and subdued images, which today are categorized under the medieval aesthetic terms *wabi* (侘) and *sabi* (寂). These aesthetic notions connoted the decline of the imperial court against the rise of the military government (Jp. *bakufu*). Against this background we can understand the selection of Emperor Tenji's poem as both an aesthetic act (since the poem conveys a melancholic atmosphere of *sabi*) and a political act (since the anthology canonized the emperor as an ideal sovereign of bygone times).

In conclusion, I argue that Emperor Tenji's poem reflects the influence of Tang-dynasty values on Asuka period (552-710) aesthetic and political values. Moreover, the canonization of the poem at later periods by incorporating it into the imperial anthology reflected a yearning for an ideal government, a subtle act of subversion aimed at the rising military government. As we shall see, images of harvesting farmers were utilized to support conflicting political opinions in the unsettled debate over the nature of the ideal government for Japan in later periods.

2.2.3.4 Imperial Rituals and Rice Harvesting

The poem and its Confucian aura should be examined in relation to the broader connection between rice agriculture and political sovereignty in Japan. Ancient Japanese histories link the establishment of the Yamato kingdom with the expansion of rice agriculture during the Yayoi period (3rd c. BCE—3rd c. CE). This has been an important narrative throughout Japanese history,

and it is still widely accepted.⁶⁰ Various ceremonies in the imperial court reconfirm this ancient connection between the emperor and rice cultivation. For example, the enthronement ceremony of the Japanese emperors, the Daijōsai (大嘗祭) is the first rice harvest celebration after the emperor's accession. The harvest ritual bestows auspiciousness on the new sovereign, and emphasizes the source of his power.⁶¹ The first emperor to celebrate the Daijōsai was Emperor Tenmu (天武天皇, r. 672-683), the younger brother and heir of Emperor Tenji.⁶² Therefore, I am led to see the Hakuho era (645-710), the time the Japanese imperial court adopted its structure from the Tang court, as the cradle of the values reflected in later images of agriculture. While the Asuka and Nara periods (552-794) were characterized by a strong central bureaucracy that linked the court with the provinces, during the following Heian period (794-1185) the court culture drew closer to the Tang model. This approach may have caused the classical poetry of the period to reflect a disinterest in rural life. The significance of rice as an indication of imperial authority may be the reason why, beginning in the Kamakura period (1185-1333), the Daijōsai gradually disappeared, being reinstated only much later during the Meiji restoration.⁶³

60 New historians, predominantly Amino Yoshihiko, argued that the importance of rice has been inflated to sustain the imperial power. See: Amino Yoshihiko. 1996. Emperor, Rice, and Commoners In *Multicultural Japan: palaeolithic to post-modern*, edited by D. Denoon and G. McCormack. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. 1993. *Rice as self: Japanese identities through time*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. My research is in full agreement with their conclusions. Here, however, I am interested in the place of rice within the Japanese cultural discourse, and therefore I do not enter the debate concerning its historical accuracy (although the deconstruction of this myth is in itself another phase in the cultural discourse).

61 A pair of folding screens – titled *daijōe byōbu* (大嘗会屏風) – were made for the ceremony. They depicted famous places in the two provinces that supplied rice to the capital. No original screens remained, but scholars attempted to reconstruct the enthronement décor from records and poems. See also: “daijōe-byōbu” in JAANUS, 2001. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/d/daijōebyōbu.htm> (accessed April 2010). The right screen that represented the Ōmi province to the east east of the capital (悠紀, Jp. *yuki*) probably depicted some agricultural scenes, as a remaining *waka* associates Yoshigawa in the Ōmi province with irrigation. It has been suggested that agrarian scenes in medieval handscrolls used vignettes that date back to the *daijōe byōbu* (Matsumoto Naoko, personal communication, December 2007).

62 Felicia G. Bock. 1990. The Great Feast of the Enthronement. *Monumenta Nipponica* 45 (1):27-38. p. 28.

63 Bock, 1990. p. 37.

2.2.3.5 Agrarian Treatises

As with other fields of knowledge in premodern China, writings about agricultural techniques began before the Han period (206 BCE-220 CE), evolved continuously, and incorporated ancient traditions and contemporaneous debates. The Chinese state actively encouraged the composition and dissemination of agricultural treatises (農書, Ch. *nongshu*, Jp. *nōsho*), especially after printing popularized them from the Ming Dynasty onwards.⁶⁴ Their number testifies to their importance: one hundred and five agricultural treatises were published during the Song Dynasty, and hundred ninety-nine had been published during the Qing Dynasty.⁶⁵ In addition, many farming manuals were written by local magistrates who were responsible for improving agricultural production in the areas under their jurisdiction. Manuals were generally accurate in describing agricultural customs and tools, yet many manuals reflect pictorial conventions rather than technical innovations or the differences between cultivation methods in different geographic regions.⁶⁶ I conjecture that these technical books were already known to Japanese painters in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and influenced the depiction of agricultural scenes in narrative handscrolls.

2.2.3.6 Technical Diagrams

The term *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* is originally a technical term, since the Chinese character 圖 (Ch. *tu*; translated here as *pictures*) referred to technical diagrams with an instructive aim. A recent publication *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical*

64 Bray, Francesca, ed. 1984. *Agriculture*. Edited by J. Needham, N. Sivin and Lu Gwei-Djen. Vol. 6, *Science and Civilisation in China*. Cambridge, UK Cambridge University Press.p. 49.

65 For quantitative analysis of *Nongshu* in premodern China, See: Deng Gang. 1993. *Development versus stagnation: technological continuity and agricultural progress in pre-modern China, Contributions in economics and economic history* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.p. 3-7.

66 The reason for producing such outdated manuals was politic rather than technical. See: Bray, 1984. p. 73.

Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft (2007) devotes long pages to the definition of 圖.⁶⁷ Accordingly, in premodern China, *tu* was “a specialist term denoting only those graphic images or layouts which encoded technical knowledge: *tu* were templates for action.[...] from the Chinese perspective *tu* was not a stylistic but a functional category: *tu* were instructive images conveying skilled, specialist knowledge.”⁶⁸ The book details how the meaning of the word changed in different time periods and contexts, and writers thus emphasize the importance of context to interpret the function of “a picture.” Functions can be divided into communicative (displaying information), pedagogical (inculcating understanding), or transformative (effecting cosmic or other changes through the very act of inscription).⁶⁹ It is important to stress that these were active functions, namely the examination and decoding of the *tu* led the viewer to realization and action. In comparison, the primary function of the term *hua* (畫, Jp. *ga*; painting) was aesthetic pleasure. Thus, for example, illustrations in novels would be normally titled *hua*, but in the case of morally instructive textbooks the images were captioned *tu*.⁷⁰ Namely, it was the mode of publishing rather than the technical format that determined whether an illustration was defined *hua* or *tu*.

The fact that the Japanese title of the agrarian painting theme remained *kōshokuzu*—namely, the title maintained the technical suffix *zu* (Ch. *tu*), and did not replace it with the more artistic *hua*—suggests awareness of the various functions and the scholastic context of the original images, even when the primary function of display was seemingly aesthetic pleasure.

67 See in particular: Francesca Bray. 2007. The Power of *Tu*. In *Graphics and text in the production of technical knowledge in China: the warp and the weft*, edited by F. Bray, V. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and G. Métaillie. Leiden; Boston: Brill. p. 1-83.

68 Bray, 2007. p. 2-3.

69 Bray, 2007. p. 3-4. The term *tu* could indicate both function and reception, because late Ming-Dynasty arguments suggest that *hua* was for the educated audience and *tu* for laypeople.

70 Bray, 2007. p. 3-4.

The problem, however, is that the scroll that inaugurated the agrarian genre in Japan was not accompanied by text. Still, if we assume that the images were explained orally to their intended viewers, we could draw a direct link between the Chinese functions and the Japanese display of *Pictures of Agriculture*.

2.3 THE FIRST PICTURES OF AGRICULTURE AND SERICULTURE

2.3.1 Lou Shu

In 1145, the bureaucrat Lou Shu (樓鑄, 1090-1162)⁷¹ created⁷² the first *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. The work consisted of two scrolls; the first depicted the annual process of rice agriculture in twenty-one⁷³ separate scenes. The second depicted the annual process of silk production in twenty-four scenes.⁷⁴ Each of these forty-five images was accompanied by a poem. As we saw earlier, the themes of the images and the poems were not completely new, but the detailed technical description, and the combination of poetry and technical explanation were unprecedented. The work received phenomenal acclaim, and the emperor himself commissioned

71 This pronunciation and transliteration are not obvious; many sources use Lou Chou or Shou. Additionally, dates of the original work vary from 1130 to 1145. Nevertheless, here, and later I accept Hammers' conclusions due to the unprecedented broadness of her study of Lou Shu (see Hammers, 2002.p. 4). Watabe Takeshi also supports the reading "Shu". See: Watabe Takeshi 渡部武. 2002. Mingutanshin "kōshokuzu" no sakushamei "shū" no yomi nitusite 民具短信『耕織図』の作者名「楼〔シュウ〕」の読みについて *Mingu Monthly* 民具マンスリ - 神奈川大学日本常民文化研究所 編/神奈川大学 35 (4):8102-8104.

72 Linda Walton writes that the books were merely ordered by Lou Shu, but this supposition is not supported by any of the other sources (Linda Walton. 1984. Kinship, Marriage, and Status in Song China: A Study of the Lou lineage of Ningbo, c. 1050-1250. *Journal of Asian History* 18:35-77.p. 45). Watabe, on the other hand, writes that Lou Shu was known for his painting skill (Watabe, 1986. p. 5).

73 The number 21 is unusual. I suspect that the original included 24 images, because the number correlates with the traditional division to seasons. Later renderings often allocated similar number of illustrations to each theme.

74 For a list of these 45 activities see Wang, 1995.p. 49-50, and Reizei et al., 1996.p. 21.

a copy. This work and later copies of it began the influential tradition of painting agrarian images in China and Japan⁷⁵ that lasted into the modern period.

2.3.1.1 The Images of Lou Shu

The original scrolls no longer exist, but documents and copies of the scrolls enable scholars to reconstruct the works and suggest later developments. According to Watabe, Lou Shu sent the original works to the imperial court and left a copy with his family. While the latter were reproduced on stelae and in print, and joined the tradition of technical treatises, the former launched a new imperial painterly theme to which the early wave of Japanese agrarian images owe their origin.⁷⁶

The earliest copies of Luo Shu's work are: (1) a scroll with *Pictures of Sericulture* at the Heilongjiang Provincial Museum dated to the late Southern Song dynasty (figure 2);⁷⁷ (2) an incomplete scroll *Pictures of Agriculture* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated to the Yuan

⁷⁵ There is evidence to the influence of *gengzhitu* also on Korean paintings, but it is unclear when it began. It is rather plausible that agricultural treatises and *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* arrived in Korea from China already in the Southern Song dynasty. Nevertheless, all the recorded examples in Korea are from the late Choson period (1392-1910), and thus cannot suggest that Korean art served as a mediator in the Japanese adaptation of the Chinese theme. In fact, some of the Korean images may suggest, that the painters used Japanese illustrations as models. Existing Korean paintings testify that agrarian images were copied, reprinted, and adapted into landscape paintings and genre scenes. As in Japan, the adaptations gradually gained local colors, and – despite acknowledging their Chinese origin – they are believed to document nostalgia for the local past. Watabe discussed the Korean paintings briefly (Watabe, 1986. p. 18-20). Although I found several references to agrarian paintings in Korean catalogues, comprehensive study of the theme awaits future research. See for example: Jeong Byeongmo. 2002. 朝鮮時代風俗画 *Genre Painting of Joseon Dynasty (In Korean)*. Edited by National Museum of Korea. Seoul: Museum Member Society of Korea.

⁷⁶ Watabe, 1986. p. 4.

⁷⁷ The Heilongjiang Provincial Museum Scroll has a problematic pedigree. According to Wang, this scroll was kept in the imperial collection, but was lost during the Japanese invasion in the twentieth-century. It then fell to the hands of a peddler, then to a private collection, was confiscated during the Cultural Revolution, and in 1983 donated to the museum in Heilongjiang (Wang, 1995. p. 23). A year later *Wenwu* (文物) published an article about the work, with poor quality illustrations. All later sources quote this above article, but none of the scholars reported actually seeing the scroll. Color reproductions were published in: Hu Dezhi 胡德智, ed. 2006. *Masterworks of Chinese Figure Painting Surhern Song Dynasty (AS 1127-1279)* 中国人物画经典:南宋卷 (*Zhongguo renwu huajingdian: Nan Song juan*). Vol. 1. Beijing Cultural Relic Publishing House 文物出版社. p. 54-55.

dynasty (1279-1368) (figure 3);⁷⁸ and (3) a complete set of scrolls of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* at the Freer Gallery. These are dated to the Yuan and attributed to Cheng Qi (程棨) (below I refer to it as the Freer Scroll) (figure 4).⁷⁹ To judge from characteristics shared by these early copies, Lou Shu's original scrolls were most likely painted in ink and light colors on silk. Each scene was preceded by a poem of eight lines, with five characters to a line (五言詩). The figures and the landscape were generic, and the background of each scene was comprised of rice paddies or simple architectural structures thatched with straw or tiles. Workers were portrayed in

78 The scroll was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum from a private collection in 2006. To date, the scroll was studied by Hammers and was not reproduced. I viewed it in an exhibition in 2006. According to the museum display plaque, it was produced before 1353, by an unidentified artist. Medium: Ink and color on silk. The scroll comprises the last nine agricultural scenes of the twenty-one known today. The scroll was restored but maintains delicate brushwork that gives the figures a sense of restrained emotion. The style of the brush is reminiscent, to a certain extent, of the Southern Song court illustrations to the *Seventh Month*, yet it differs in its usage of colors. Moreover, the depiction of the agricultural tools shows greater precision in comparison to later known copies. Of further interest is the incomplete colophon opening the scroll dating 1353. It was written by a Mongolian named Hu Gechi testifying that he remounted the scroll in order to present it to the Grand Preceptor "as a resource of setting policy." For a translation of the colophon, see: Hammers, 2002. p. 360-363.

79 The Freer Scrolls are attributed to Cheng Qi (程棨, fl. ca.1275). Ink and color on paper. Dimensions: agriculture scroll 1249.3x31.9 cm, sericulture: 1034x32.6 cm. For translation of the inscriptions on this scrolls and further information, see the Freer Gallery website: <http://www.asia.si.edu/SongYuan/F1954.20/F1954-20.Documentation.pdf> (accessed April 10, 2010).

The scrolls of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in the Freer Gallery collection were studied in detail by many scholars, as they are probably the closest we can get to Lou Shu's complete set of images. All sources describe these scrolls as a Yuan dynasty work (1271-1368) (for example: Thomas Lawton. 1973. *Chinese Figure Painting*. Vol. 2, *Freer gallery of art 50th anniversary exhibition*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art. p. 54-57; Wang, 1995; and the Freer gallery website), although Hammers believes it is a Ming or Qing dynasty copy (Hammers, 2002.p. 32). Nonetheless she agrees this is a perfect copy and invaluable for research. Wang states: "we are certain that the Cheng Qi's 'Pictures of Farming and Weaving' is no other than one of the invaluable cultural relics plundered from China by invading Anglo-French troops in 1860" (Wang, 1995. p.48).

Like Lou Shu's work, the scrolls include twenty-one scenes of agriculture and twenty-four of sericulture. Each scroll displays alternately Lou Shu's poems in seal script, and the coordinating picture. The opening sections include colophons by six Qing men. Among them Emperor Qianlong (1711-1799), who explains that he based his 1769 *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* on this version. He wrote that he decided to attribute the scroll to Cheng Qi – a Yuan painter lost to history – by examining the painter's alternative signatures and the seals on the scrolls. (Watabe, 1986. p. 9-10; Wang, 1995.p. 47-48). This attribution is accepted also on the Freer curators (see: Wai-kam Ho, Laurence Sickman, Sherman E. Lee, and Marc F. Wilson. 1980. *Eight dynasties of Chinese painting: the collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art*. Cleveland; Bloomington, Ind.: Cleveland Museum of Art, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, distributed by Indiana University Press. p. 56).

Cheng Qi is not mentioned in any source predating the Qianlong inscription, and thus I suspect that this painter might have been a fictional character that was created as part of the Qing emperors' attempt to enter Chinese history by identifying themselves with the canon and skills of the Southern Song court. The choice of the Qing emperors to appropriate the *gengzhitu* as part of their cultural legitimization further testifies to the political importance of this theme.

half-turned postures facing the viewer; since they were often bent down, their posture emphasized their heavy load. Different headgear marked age, and garments (or lack there of) indicated the low social status of the figures. Most male figures were barefoot, while the women were dressed in long garments that modestly covered their feet. Lou Yao (樓鑰, 1137-1213), Lou Shu's grandnephew, wrote regarding the work of his granduncle “the labors of agriculture and sericulture are thoroughly depicted with the emotions and appearances (of the people).”⁸⁰

For example, let us look at the closing image and poem of the agricultural scroll *Inserting (the rice) into the Storehouse* (入藏) (figure 5). The scene takes place at a tiled-roof storage complex. On the right side a farmer is entering the scene. He is dressed in white and balances a yoke with two full baskets on his right shoulder. With his left hand he balances the basket; his movement suggests the heavy weight of the basket and indicates Lou Shu's careful observation of the farmers at work. A supervisor stands in the entrance to the storehouse; his light-blue apron and black shoes characterize his higher social position, which allows him to keep away from the dirt and sweat of the fields. He holds a bundle of sticks in one hand and points with the other at two more farmers, as if giving them instructions. I infer that this supervisor, who also appears in other scenes in the scroll, symbolizes Lou Shu himself or embodies the imperial supervision he represents. The supervisor points to the next phases in the agrarian process; the two other farmers are emptying their rice baskets inside the storage building. Numbered beams are nailed to the entrance of the storage rooms and laid on the ground; they mark the amount of stored grain that will be used to calculate the yield for taxation.

⁸⁰ Translated in: Hammers, 2002. p.331. Wang's translation is slightly different: “each item is illustrated with a picture and each picture is accompanied by an eight lined [poem with five characters to each line], vividly and minutely describing farming and sericultural activities.” (Wang, 1995. p.36).

There is little indication of the figures' emotions; the artist seems to focus on the technical aspects of harvesting and our attention is delicately drawn to the movements and gestures of each character. There is no attempt to personalize the figures or inspire the viewer to identify with them. Yet despite the impersonal nature of the figures, it seems that the artist attempted to communicate a realistic and accurate picture of the event. The delicacy of the work, together with the soft colors, creates a slightly lyrical atmosphere, which accords the elegiac tone of the poems.

2.3.1.2 The Poems of Lou Shu

Like the "Seventh Month" and the poem by Li Shen, the poems of Lou Shu describe agrarian activities from the viewpoint of the workers. Their content comprises different combinations of seasonal descriptions, technical explanations, comments on the harshness of labor, and the author's emotional reaction to the scene.⁸¹ One example is the twenty-first poem, which ends the agricultural series *Inserting (the rice) into the Storehouse*.⁸²

*The days are cold, the cattle are in the pens
At year's end, the grain enters the storage space.
Now the farmers have some leisure time
Sunning their backs, lying below the eaves of their humble homes.
But they are distraught, pressed by the tax payment
Petty officials come frequently, making demands.
With collected grain the tax officials serve their king
But the hungry child cries indignantly.*⁸³

81 For the translation of all the poems, see: Hammers, 2002. p. 302-325.

82 Lou's poems were criticized as hard to understand already in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and all the more can be said for contemporary readers. My conclusions above are based on Hammers' translation.

83 Translated in: Hammers, 2002. p. 54.

The elegiac tone of the poems is reminiscent of the older poetic tradition, as explained above. One needs a great deal of imagination, however, to associate the poem above with the matching image of *Inserting into the Storehouse* scene (figure 5). Both the visual and the written texts refer to the motifs of rice in store and to an official inspecting the grain output. But the emotionally charged descriptions of “leisure time,” the “distraught,” and the “hungry child” are absent from the picture. Did this discrepancy exist in the original work? If so, was it read as a discrepancy by its contemporaneous audience? According to Hammers, the enthusiastic reception of the work suggests that the new *mélange* was interpreted as transmitting a valuable message regarding the necessity of its technical innovations to improve farmers’ lives. The reliance on classic poetic forms, which were recognized as part of the imperial cultural system, reframed Lou Shu’s protest as being constructive rather than subversive and paved the way for the consequent canonization of his work.

2.3.1.3 Reception and Analysis

Records from the end of the Southern Song dynasty provide intriguing information regarding Lou Shu’s works and their early reception. Lou Hong (樓洪, n.d.), a grandchild of Lou Shu, wrote:

Immediately the pictures' poems of agriculture and sericulture were chanted everywhere. Soon after, the poet was recommended for an audience and interview with the emperor. He offered the pictures and poems for the emperor to view. The emperor greatly praised the work, and immediately displayed them in the rear palace.⁸⁴ [...] Thus it was necessary to carve them in metal and stone for preservation (posterity).⁸⁵

⁸⁴ The rear palace is probably the women's quarters.

⁸⁵ Translated in: Hammers, 2002. p. 327-328. Judging by the copies of the Qing Dynasty stone-rubbings (produced in: Pelliot, 1913), the imperial stelae included the pictures and the poems of Lou Shu. The Qing dynasty copies of the Song dynasty stelae closely resemble the Freer scroll, and consolidate the claim that the Qing emperors

Lou Yao, Lou Shu's grandnephew, wrote in a similar manner. He adds:

[T]he emperor praised and awarded Lou [Shu] and gave orders to have them painted on the screen of the inner court⁸⁶, with Lou [Shu's] name on it.⁸⁷

These records portray “hegemonic reception;” namely, reception that affirms the social order and reminds viewers of their position in society. We learn that the picture-poems became popular and were soon adopted by the court. The court, in turn, performed two acts to maintain the popularity of the picture-poems. One, the images were repainted on screens in the rear palace or inner court, where they were to be viewed by the court women. Second, the images were carved in stone and metal. These are durable printing blocks, which were commissioned to ensure the dissemination of the images and texts, and their availability to future generations. Since these stone carvings could be used for creating rubbings and prints, this form of copying suggests a much larger audience outside the imperial circle.⁸⁸ All types of copies—screens, rubbings, and prints—suggest public display with pedagogical intentions.

In addition, Emperor Gaozong is said to have ordered one copy of the scrolls for his heir apparent. This act reveals the same reading mechanism of *Pictures of Admonishing by Means of Paragon*, where the reader is asked to correct one's behavior after learning about the deeds of

restored the Southern Song dynasty work. It is interesting to note that the stelae were recently restored in the garden of the Summer Palace in Beijing. The restoration was based on Pelliot's images. This contemporary restoration adds more levels to the on-going appropriation of the *gengzhitu* in the Chinese historical narrative.

86 Probably equivalent to the rear palace, or women's quarters, mentioned by Lou Hong above.

87 Wang, 1995. p. 36. Hammers' translation is slightly different. She explains that the emperor had Lou Shu's name written on a screen to commemorate his merit and contributions (Hammers, 2002. p. 331).

88 Watabe suggests that Lou Shu kept a copy of his work, and it was carved into stone by his relatives around 1210. During 1224-1237 the scrolls were republished also in a printed book by Wang Gang (汪綱). The stelae and the book are also lost, but recorded in later copies.

virtuous men and women. These were often Confucian narratives, which aimed at shaping and confirming the ideology of its reader.⁸⁹

The writings of Lou's relatives confirm the Confucian world view from another angle: they associate Lou Shu's work with the great philosophers and rulers who called for recognizing the labor of the tax payers. Namely, both Lou Shu and Emperor Gaozong are afforded the virtuous air of Confucian sages.⁹⁰ This may suggest that Lou Hong and Lou Yao aimed at conforming to accepted narratives, rather than recording an actual historical event.

Hammers, however, disinclines to interpret Lou Shu's work as one more case of *Pictures of Admonition*. For her, Lou Shu did not portray an idealized society and was not lobbying to maintain some ideal past. He stressed technological inventions as fundamental to the welfare of the farmers, and believed that unjust taxation and inconsiderate officials caused their poverty. By scrutinizing the political environment in which Lou acted, Hammers claims that his aims were pragmatic and focused on generating an actual change in the taxation policy of the day. She establishes that the content and messages of Lou Shu's poetry derived from his reformist opinions regarding agricultural policies. These policies were associated with the renowned politician and scholar Wang Anshi (王安石, 1021-1086), who acted for tax modifications and loans for poor farmers.⁹¹ Lou Shu's grandfather was associated with Wang's faction, and he followed in his grandfather's footsteps; hence several poems conspicuously call for easing the laborers' burdensome taxes.

89 Lawton, 1973. p. 71. This act further associates *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* with the Ming dynasty *Dizian tushuo* (帝鑑圖說, Illustrated Textbook of Paragon Emperors, Jp. Teikan zusetsu) that was presented for the Chinese imperial heir in 1572. See: Karen M. Gerhart. 1997. Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars: The Teikan Zusetsu Murals of Nagoya Castle. *Monumenta Nipponica* 52 (1):1-34.

90 Hammers, 2002. P. 66-67.

91 Wang Angshi also published poems of agriculture. See Watabe, 1986. p. 4.

At the same time, Hammers acknowledges the use of classical poetic images in Lou Shu's work. Expressing political protest through reinterpretations of the *Classics* was in itself an accepted form of dissent in imperial China.⁹² She argues persuasively that the value of the work lay not in its originality, but in Lou Shu's ability to adapt existing cultural and technical knowledge for the promotion of an actual agenda. Lou Shu was thus trying to mend the system from within; his act of dissent was legitimate since it did not subvert the basis of the system. Since Lou Shu's work followed tradition in so many ways, the imperial system could use it to prove its heavenly mandate. Paradoxically, this adoption of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* by the court neutralized its political message, and transformed it into one more tool with which the emperor could glorify himself by portraying himself as merciful and virtuous.

2.3.1.4 Is Lou Shu's story relevant to the Japanese Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture?

There is no evidence that the history of Lou Shu and his poems were known in Japan prior to the Edo period (1615-1868). The first work in the genre of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* that is mentioned in Japanese records—the scroll attributed to Liang Kai (discussed below)—comprises only images with no text. The earliest Japanese record that mentions Lou Shu's name is a copy of a Ming-dynasty adaptation of Lou Shu's book by Kano Einō (狩野永納, 1631-1697) dated 1676. Still, Lou Shu's story is relevant for examining early Japanese renditions, because its moral message became embedded in the theme and was read in retrospect into the Muromachi period paintings. I argue thus that Lou Shu is relevant to the Japanese reading of the *Kōshokuzu* for the following three reasons. First, regardless of Lou Shu's status as an historical figure, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were imported to Japan as a Chinese imperial

92 Hammers, 2002. p. 98-110.

symbol of good governance. Second, it is possible that a *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* scroll was part of a tributary exchange between Japan and China in the fifteenth century.⁹³ The inscription on the Metropolitan Museum scroll indicates that it was commissioned by Hu Gechi (忽哥赤, n.d.), the governor of Gangzhou, and was offered to the Chief councilor (or Minister of Agriculture) Tuotuo (脱脱, 1314-1355).⁹⁴ This inscription thus suggests that at least in an earlier period *Pictures of Agriculture* were considered an appropriate theme for an official gift exchange.⁹⁵ Thirdly, as we will see in later chapters, we can draw comparisons between the historical moment of Lou Shu's work and Edo Japan. Like Song-dynasty China, early modern Japan underwent an agricultural and economic expansion.⁹⁶ Like Lou Shu, Neo Confucian thinkers during the Edo period turned to the Chinese classics when writing political essays. Lou Shu's story became known in the Japan of the eighteenth-century thanks to its republication in print by the Qing emperors (see chapter 4.2.1). I suspect that the similarities between the Song bureaucrats and their own times may have attracted the attention of artists and thinkers in Edo Japan and inspired their reproduction of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.

93 Japan did not conduct an official gift exchange with the Yuan Dynasty, although trade relations between Japan and the continent continued throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Only after 1401, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) renewed the trade with Ming China in the form of raising tributes (Kōdansha, 1999). It is thus not implausible that the scrolls attributed to Liang Kai arrived in Japan as an official gift in the fifteenth century. On the arrival of Song-Yuan paintings to Japan, see: James Cahill. 1982. *Sōgen-ga: 12th-14th century Chinese painting as collected and appreciated in Japan* Berkeley: University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley. p.2.

94 Hammers, 2002. p. 232-233. The fact that the men involved were Mongols is particularly intriguing because the adoption of rice agriculture was part of the sinicization of the Mongols. James Cahill referred to the adoption of the *gengzhitu* by the Mongols and the Manchu as part of their attempt to convince the Chinese that “they were the rightful rulers of China.” See: James Cahill. 1988. *Three alternative histories of Chinese painting, The Franklin D. Murphy lectures 9*. [Lawrence, Kan.]: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas. p. 20.

95 This comparison requires further study, because this example relates to a different time period and a different form of interaction. Note also that in case of Hu Gechi and in the case of Lou Shu, it was governors who offered the scroll to higher authorities. If indeed the Ming court presented the scroll to the Ashikaga shogunate, the scrolls functioned to bestow authority rather than confirm obedience. In all cases, however, the presented scrolls functioned as charged symbols in dynamic exchanges for the reconfirmation of hierarchical bonding.

96 Bray, 1984. p. 609.

2.4 PICTURES OF AGRICULTURE AND SERICULTURE IN MUROMACHI JAPAN

2.4.1 When the first *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* arrived in Japan?

Due to the nature of the relationship between China and Japan and the development of printing techniques, continental knowledge flowed into the archipelago during most of the medieval period (end of the twelfth century to the end of the sixteenth century). It is thus not implausible that some form of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* arrived in Japan as early as the Kamakura period,⁹⁷ and were quoted as vignettes in medieval handscrolls.⁹⁸ The depiction of the lower classes in handscrolls was meant to add visual interest and give an air of realism to the main narrative, which was often a sentimental and mystical Buddhist tale. The role of the commoners in these artworks was thus fundamentally different from their roles in *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. The latter focused on the farmers as the main, rather than auxiliary theme, and aimed to promote a political agenda that was directly related to agriculture.

97 There is evidence of Chinese *Nongshu* introduced to Japan as early as the Wei dynasty (6th c.) and during the Tang and Song dynasties (Deng, 1993. p. 123).

98 Examining genre scenes in narrative handscrolls, such as the farmers in *Hōnen shōnin eden* (法然上人絵伝, *The Illustrated Biography of Priest Hōnen*, 1307-1317) (figure 7) and the loom in *Taima Mandara emaki* (大麻曼荼羅絵巻, *Scroll of the Taima Mandara*)(figure 6), suggests that the painters could have borrowed motifs from Chinese agrarian treatises. For example, the image of the plowing farmer in the Hōnen scroll is depicted from the same angle and at a similar pose as the plowing farmer in the Freer scroll (figure 8). Nevertheless, there is only a handful of Japanese images prior to the late Muromachi period from which we can deduce about the depiction of commoners at work. This state of affairs conditions any attempt to reconstruct the history of medieval images of farmers to no more than a conjecture. To circumvent this obstacle, scholars compare the presence of commoners in poetic and literary sources and in visual images. Comparisons indicate that the elite patrons did exercise some attention to the livelihood and labor practices of the commoners, including activities of plowing and harvesting. Nevertheless, the recurring vignettes and fixed motifs of commoners in poetry and in handscrolls imply that artists and patrons often employed fixed stereotypes, and there is little evidence to suggest that painters understood farming activities in a more detailed mode than images of flora or fauna. In conclusion, Chinese agrarian images could be viewed by Japanese artists already at the early fourteenth century, but the influence of such images – if any – was limited to merging into existing traditions of seasonal imagery or pejorative caricatures. This practice amounts to no more than an anecdote, as farmers and weavers seem to have attracted little attention from art patrons prior to the social and economic changes of the Muromachi period.

Approximately three hundred years after their creation by Lou Shu, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were adopted as an individual genre at the Ashikaga court. The theme was introduced with a set of two scrolls attributed to Liang Kai (fl. c. 1201-1204). Below I will discuss these scrolls, which became a major source of inspiration for Japanese ink painters throughout the early modern period. I will contextualize the import and adaptation of the scrolls against the aesthetic practices of the period.

2.4.2 Song and Yuan paintings

Thousands of ink paintings were brought to Japan during the Ashikaga reign (1333-1573), and were later categorized as *Song-Yuan paintings* (宋元画). Hundreds of these — both copies and originals — still exist in Japanese collections (many more than in China).⁹⁹ These paintings were the product of the Southern Song Imperial Painting Academy in Hangzhou, as well as of Buddhist and professional workshops throughout the Jiangnan region, which operated in relative proximity to the center of trade with Japan in Zhejiang. They were sent as official gifts to the shoguns from the Ming court, or imported by the Japanese to supply the rising demand for Chinese artifacts (唐物, Jp. *karamono*). The term *Song-Yuan paintings* was coined in Japan by the local collectors, and reflects different artistic tastes than the imperial collection at Taipei.¹⁰⁰

The importation of the Chinese ink paintings gave rise to new aesthetic categorizations, and to a whole new process of reception and reproduction. The works were adopted into the worlds of Zen and tea, the palaces of the shoguns, and the villas of the *daimyō* (大名). In their

⁹⁹ Cahill, 1982. p. 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ Lippit, Yukio. 2003. *The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Kano Artists, Authors, and Authenticators of the Seventeenth Century*, History of Art, Princeton University, Princeton. p. 184-186. Lippit is based on Yonezawa Yoshihiro's influential study.

new locations, patrons assigned the works a mystique not found in their original Chinese context. For example, the Chinese artists who were canonized and collected in Japan are not those who were received this treatment in China. The political nuances that are linked to landscape paintings after the fall of the Song-dynasty court seem to go unnoticed in Muromachi Japan. Hence, works by official Yuan painters were valued in Japan much more than in China, and were often mistakenly thought to embody Zen values. Moreover, false attributions and forged seals became commonplace. Collectors at the time often sought the advice of authenticators, the Ami School being particularly relied upon for help. Scholars today still argue over the dating, attribution, and even country of origin of certain pieces.¹⁰¹

2.4.2.1 The Scrolls Attributed to Liang Kai

Liang Kai was one of the most celebrated Chinese ink masters in the Muromachi art world. He was a member of the Imperial Painting Academy in Hangzhou, and also resided intermittently in a Chan center nearby at Jiangnan.¹⁰² As an official painter, he painted various themes—figures, landscapes, religious figures, demons and gods—but he is particularly renowned for his Zen figures executed in the abbreviated style (減筆描 Ch. *jianbimiao*; Jp. *genpitsubyō*. See figure 9).¹⁰³

101 Cahill, 1982. p. 2-3.

102 Valérie Malenfer Ortiz. 1999. *Dreaming the southern song landscape: the power of illusion in Chinese painting*, *Studies in Asian art and archaeology*. Leiden; Boston: Brill. p. 26

103 Brushstrokes executed in the abbreviated style are minimal but very vibrant - the thickness of the lines changes and the transparency of the ink is inconsistent - creating the impression of volume and expression (March, Benjamin. 1935. *Some technical terms of Chinese painting*. Baltimore: Waverly Press, inc. p. 44). This painting style is compared to the cursive script in calligraphy (草), the least formal of the three main calligraphic styles (真行草). This informality befitted the depiction of the eccentric Zen patriarchs, but is less appropriate for the heavily Confucian *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.

A scroll with *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* attributed to Liang Kai was in the Ashikaga collection, which later turned into the Tokugawa shogunal collection.¹⁰⁴ It is not clear when, but the agricultural scroll was lost, and the sericultural scroll was cut and remounted as three hanging scrolls. These pieces found their way into different private collections, but in the twentieth century they were restored and donated to the Cleveland Museum of Art (figure 10).¹⁰⁵ Additionally, an eighteenth-century copy of the full set of scrolls, rendered by a lesser disciple of the Kano school, is held by the National Museum in Tokyo (figure 11-12). Comparison with the Cleveland scroll proves it is an accurate copy of the original.

It is interesting to compare the Tokyo Museum copy of the scrolls attributed to Liang Kai (figure 11) with the Yuan dynasty set in the Freer (figures 4,8). The Freer scrolls are attributed to the unknown Yuan painter Cheng Qi and carry seals, poems, and inscriptions by Qing emperors.¹⁰⁶ The main difference is the layout of the composition; the scenes in the Freer scroll are separated by poems, while the Tokyo Museum scroll renders the annual scenes along one continuum. The twenty-one agricultural scenes and twenty-four sericultural scenes in the Freer piece are reduced to nine agricultural scenes and fifteen sericultural scenes in the Tokyo scroll. For example, while Lou Shu's template includes three different stages of weeding, the Scroll attributed to Liang Kai depicts only one. The Scroll attributed to Liang Kai is thus a condensed and abbreviated version of Lou Shu's body of images. Regardless of the visual changes, the scrolls fundamentally follow the template of Lou Shu because they similarly represent the farmers' society as secluded and balanced and time as cyclical and continuous.

104 Lippit offers a brilliant analysis of this process in his dissertation (Lippit, 2003).

105 Wai-kam Ho et al., 1980. p. 78-80.

106 Lawton, 1973. p. 71.

According to Wai Kam Ho, the attribution to Liang Kai is tentative, but there is no doubt that this is an early thirteenth-century scroll.¹⁰⁷ Watabe also conjectures that the attribution is dubious since none of the Chinese records of Liang Kai's works lists *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.¹⁰⁸ The attribution, however, was confirmed by Sōami (相阿弥, d. 1525), who served as an art authenticator for the Ashikaga house. A postscript at the end of the Tokyo Museum scroll reads:

*This set of agriculture and sericulture scrolls resembles the true brush of Liang Kai. It is a copy without change of the colors and brushstrokes. It should not leave the house, and must be kept in secret. Assessed and appreciated by Sōami, the 21st day of the second month of the first year of Eitoku [1489] [seal]. Izawa Hachirō copied it (伊澤八郎), Early fourth month of Tenmei 6 [1786].*¹⁰⁹

In other words, the artist Sōami examined the scroll in 1489 and declared that it was an authentic work by Liang Kai.¹¹⁰ The scroll was later turned into a model book for Kano disciples, who copied the work with its accompanying script.¹¹¹ It is interesting to note that, rather than commenting on the content of the images, the script emphasizes the importance of the scroll as a commodity. Liang Kai is presented as a brand name that can be copied only by those who

107 Wai-kam Ho et al., 1980. p. 78-80.

108 Watabe, 1986. p. 8.

109 此耕織両巻似梁楷正筆、絵具筆無相違

写物也家中出不、秘可々々

延徳元年二月廿一日 鑑岳真相 (印)

天明六丙午年四月初旬 伊澤八郎写之

Transcribed in: Reizei et al., 1996.p. 20. See image in: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 町田市立国際版画美術館. 1990. *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, edehon ten: meiga o unda hanga* 近代日本絵画と画譜・絵手本展: 名画を生んだ版画. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan.p. 38-39.

110 I conjecture that this authentication is based both on the abbreviated style in the depiction of the figures, and possibly on the similarity between the gesture of the old woman in the opening scene and the gesture of the sixth patriarch cutting bamboo (figure 9). The old woman is depicted from her back holding a sharp tool (for separating the silkworm eggs from the card). Likewise the sixth patriarch is depicted from his back and with a knife.

111 Presumably the authentication took place when Sōami copied the scroll, possibly with the intention of sending it to the appreciation of painters who could have copied it. Sōami insists that the copy is not to be shown to people outside the Ashikaga palace, which was a common condition aimed at saving the prestige of the unique model to the shogunal spaces.

belong to shogunal circles. Liang Kai may have been a model of a “free spirit” for his Chinese viewers, but the reception of his works in Japan should be seen as part of the Ashikaga’s attempt to gain hegemony in the cultural arena.

2.4.3 The Scrolls attributed to Liang Kai in Fifteenth-century Records

In the following pages, I examine different fifteenth-century records in order to clarify how the scrolls attributed to Liang Kai were utilized as a model for wall paintings in the Ashikaga palaces. This examination demonstrates that the early adaptation of the agricultural scroll was associated with political power; this association, I propose, reflected on later adaptations of this theme.

2.4.3.1 Record of the Muromachi Palace Décor for the Imperial Visit

The first textual reference to *Pictures of Agriculture* in Japan is dated 1437 (永享9年). Documenting the visit of the young emperor Go-Hanazono (後花園, 1419-1490) to the palace of the sixth Ashikaga shogun Yoshinori (足利義教, 1394-1441), the *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki* (室町殿行幸御飾記 Record of the Muromachi Palace Décor for the Imperial Visitation)¹¹² records a “room in the style of Liang Kai, agriculture, facing north, four *ma* [in size].”¹¹³ This shogunal record is an inventory, listing the type of objects displayed in each of the twenty-six different chambers of the palace. The brief writing style reflects practices of painting and display, categorizing paintings by theme and model. Each chamber is referred to by the painting theme (e.g. agriculture), direction (e.g. north) and style (e.g. Liang Kai), followed by a

¹¹² Muromachi dono was first built by the third Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu as his residence. The palace was located close to the Shōkokuji. It was redesigned for the imperial visit in 1437.

¹¹³ “北向御四間 耕作 梁楷様之御間” in: Reizei et al., 1996. p. 13. Four bay, or *ma*, equal an eight *tatami* room, or approximately fifteen square meters.

list of the decorations exhibited there. The painter's name is not recorded, but art historian Namiki Seishi conjectures that Shūbun (周文, fl. 15th c.) who was an official painter (御用絵師) at the time, may have rendered the agricultural scenes.¹¹⁴

The visit of Go-Hanazono during the 21st-26th days¹¹⁵ of the tenth month was recorded in both imperial and shogunal documents.¹¹⁶ The former also notes that the visit included cultural pursuits aligned with fashions at court, such as poetry gatherings, ball games (Jp. *kemari*), and dances,¹¹⁷ and newer forms of entertainment, such as tea ceremony, that were associated with shogunal tastes. The above mentioned *okazari-ki* (record of décor) details that shelves on the north–north-west wall in the agricultural room carried tea utensils of high-, middle-, and low-values and one hanging scroll of Hōtei (布袋) by Liang Kai. Trays, vases, and metal objects were displayed to the cardinal points.¹¹⁸ We can thus imagine a room with walls and sliding doors¹¹⁹ displaying ink paintings of agricultural scenes along with staggered-shelves carrying Chinese bronzes, ceramics, and lacquerware, which undoubtedly created a fashionable setting for *renga* (linked verse) performances¹²⁰ and tea gatherings in Chinese-like taste.¹²¹

114 Reizei et al., 1996. p.13.

115 According to Brock, the visit ended on the 28th day. Karen L. Brock. 1995. The Shogun's 'Painting Match'. *Monumenta Nipponica* 50 (4):433-484. p. 446

116 Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館, and Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館. 1976. *Higashiyama gomotsu : "Zakkashitsu in" ni kansuru shin shiryō o chūshin ni*. 東山御物:『雑華室印』に関する新資料を中心に. Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館. p.109.

117 Brock, 1995. p. 446.

118 For the detailed list, see Nezu Museum, 1976. p. 161-162.

119 It is implied by all scholars that chambers were named after the theme on their *fusuma*, but there may be some chance that scrolls were hung on the *fusuma* for the occasion and that chamber's name refers to the hanging scrolls.

120 Under the patronage of Yoshinori, the Eikyō era (1429-1440) witnessed the flourishing of *renga* culture. See: John Whitney Hall, ed. 1988. *Early Modern Japan*. Vol. 4, *The Cambridge history of Japan*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 477.

121 All the displayed objects were Chinese, and importance was given to their materials and values. Carla M. Zainie. 1978. The Muromachi Dono Gyōko Okazari Ki. A Research Note. *Monumenta Nipponica* 33 (1): 113-118.

Ashikaga Yoshinori renewed trade relations with China, and the Eikyō era (1429-1440) witnessed a surge of art imports to Japan. Contrary to the pastimes selected for imperial visitations, the decorations selected for Yoshinori's residence reflect both the period's yearning for things Chinese and his own Buddhist inclinations.¹²² It is plausible that the scrolls with agricultural scenes that inspired the room décor were newly imported during the time of Yoshinori. Moreover, it is assumed that the agricultural scenes were rendered for the occasion of the imperial visit.¹²³ Their reproduction on the palace walls together with the lavish display of Chinese artifacts (唐物, Jp: *karamono*) must have been a striking demonstration of novelty and power. We should assess Yoshinori's inclination toward ostentation as part of the on-going power struggle between the imperial court and the shoguns.

Yoshinori had a long and competitive relationship with the tonsured emperor Sadafusa (貞成, 1372-1456, Go-Hanazono's father) who also attended the visit. These men collected and exchanged narrative handscrolls in a manner that suggests a complex rivalry, as Karen Brock has demonstrated. She wrote, "For these three men - the shogun [Yoshinori], the young emperor [Go-Hanazono], and the emperor's father [Sadafusa] - activities involving painting were closely connected to their social identities, shogunal and court politics, patronage of shrines and temples, as well as both public and private literary pursuits."¹²⁴ Considering the complex cultural coding that influenced the communication between the emperor and the shogun, I argue that the choice

122 Yoshinori was a Tendai abbot prior to his nomination as shogun.

123 The paintings were rendered between the completion of the new pavilion (会所, Jp. *kaisho*) in 1435 to the visit in 1437. Such visits were planned months, if not years, in advance. See: Richard P. Stanley-Baker. 1979. *Mid-Muromachi Paintings of the Eight Views of Hsiao and Hsiang*, Art and Archaeology, Princeton, Princeton. p. 61.

124 Brock, 1995. p. 435. Brock also wrote: "In a world in which face-to-face contact with the emperor was forbidden, the paintings exchanged between the three men functioned first and foremost as a means of mutual communication. Each scroll conveyed a variety of messages to its respective viewers. These stories were, of course, appreciated for their own content; many were educational or entertaining, some were clearly inspirational." (Brock, 1995. p. 482). Similar roles could be assigned to the paintings also in the case of the Muromachi dono visit.

of agricultural themes as decoration for the shogunal residence was a conscious declaration of Yoshinori's cultural and political superiority. The declaration was based both on the novelty of Yoshinori's stylistic choice and on the content of the images, which (to judge from later examples) claimed knowledge of farmers and agricultural techniques. As we have seen in the Chinese case, this knowledge of the commoners' lives could help establish Yoshinori's authority as a legitimate ruler.

The *Okazari-ki* is signed by Nōami (能阿弥, 1397-1471), who likely played an important role in the preparations for this historical visit. As a *dōbōshū* (同朋衆), Nōami was responsible for many of the shogun's artistic enterprises; current research emphasizes that the *dōbōshū* were both talented painters, authenticators, and at the same time art directors, interior designers, and curators. The compilation and preservation of the *okazari-ki* testifies to the importance of the selection of items for display as a cultural enterprise. The authors recorded the decoration because they were aware that they were creating a new and different style from the one practiced at the imperial court and hoped that it would be emulated by later generations. Indeed, later building projects reflected the same stylistic tendencies recorded for the Muromachi-Palace.

The division of rooms by theme and style has been a major issue in Japanese art history. Scholars¹²⁵ have indicated that the adoption of Chinese images for reproduction in wall paintings in temples and palatial residences are patterns that began with the Ami school projects for the Ashikaga shoguns.¹²⁶ One such example is the custom of rendering a landscape painting in the style of the Southern Song painter Muqi (牧谿, 13th c.) on the walls of the main audience hall.

125 Predominantly Satō Toyozō of the Tokugawa Museum (in: Nezu Museum and Tokugawa Museum, 1976), whose conclusions are discussed by Zainie (1978) and Stanley-Baker (1979).

126 As for painting themes and room functions, see: Gerhart, Karen M. 1997. *Honchō Gashi* and Painting Programs: Case Studies of Nijō Castle's Ninomaru Palace and Nagoya Castle's Honmaru Palace. *Ars Orientalis* (Ann Arbor, MI): 67-97.

The bequeathed models led to the canonization of the Chinese images in the Ashikaga collection. In other words, the *okazari-ki* documents painting practices that, in later generations, crystallized as the fundamentals of the Kano school.¹²⁷ For instance, here we see for the first time the juxtaposition of a room with agricultural scenes and a room with the *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang*, a combination of motifs that was repeated in later buildings, such as the Daisen'in Temple (大仙院) (discussed below) and Nagoya Castle.¹²⁸

2.4.3.2 The Temple Diary *Inryōken Nichiroku*¹²⁹

The next time we encounter a reference to a room with agricultural scenes is in a description of the Higashiyama Palace in the diary *Inryōken nichiroku* (蔭涼軒日録). It was kept for most of the fifteenth century by the chief monks of Inryōken (a cloister within the Rokuon'in (鹿苑院), a subtemple of Shōkokuji (相国寺)).¹³⁰ In the years 1484 to 1493 the diary was kept by Kisen Shūshō (亀泉集証), a close advisor to the shogun, who recorded the activities of the official painters. The diary documented painting projects for the Higashiyama palace, which, like the projects of the Kitayama epoch (c. later half of the fourteenth century), focused on adaptation of the Chinese themes and styles.¹³¹

A model of Zen aesthetics, the Higashiyama complex boasted a number of open meeting rooms and meditation huts surrounded by decorative stones and trees (see figure 26). Its peaceful extravagance stood in sharp contrast to the tragic state of the country following the Ōnin Wars

127 Lippit's dissertation offers a thorough discussion of this process (Lippit, 2003).

128 The layout of Nagoya castle is discussed in Gerhart, 1997a. See also: Carolyn Wheelwright. 1987. A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle. In *Warlords, artists, & commoners: Japan in the sixteenth century*, edited by G. Elison and B. L. Smith. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 305.

129 Also pronounced *Onryō nichiroku*. I use "Inryō" after: *Quitman E. Phillips. 2000. The practices of painting in Japan, 1475-1500*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

130 Phillips, 2000. p. 18. See also *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2006.

131 Phillips, 2000.p. 18.

(応仁の乱, 1466-1476). Despite the dire economic straits of the *daimyō*, the eighth Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (足利義政, 1435-1490) spent much money and labor to cover the cost of construction, and confiscated fine trees and rocks from temples' collections for his gardens.¹³² The place was modeled after a Buddhist retreat, but functioned as the official residence of the retired shogun. The living quarters of Yoshimasa are assumed to have been in the building titled *tsune-no-gosho* (常の御所, Daily living palace) completed in 1483 (文明 15).¹³³

On 1489/11/17 the *Inryōken nichiroki* mentions “a room with agricultural scenes” (耕作の間).¹³⁴ As in the Muromachi-dono, the room was four *ma* in size, and adjacent to the room of the *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang*. It is assumed that the room was painted in the formal (真) style of Liang Kai by Kano Masanobu (狩野正信, ca.1434–ca.1530), who directed other art projects for Yoshimasa at the time.¹³⁵

Several scholars have drawn diagrams of the *tsune-no-gosho* according to the text in the *Inryōken* and *Kundaikan* inventory (discussed below). Despite some discrepancies,¹³⁶ they have agreed that the room with *Pictures of Agriculture* opened south (figure 27)—a position that indicates a public function. The doors opening south were probably translucent sliding doors (明障子, Jp. *akari-shōji*), therefore the images were presumably painted on the north, east, and west walls of the room. The adjacent room to the east was decorated with the *Eight Views of Xiao and*

132 Ashitaka Junya 明日香淳也. 2003. Higashiyama Dono, Tsunenogoshō 東山殿常御所. www.l.asitaka.com/his/higashi.htm

133 The Tsune-no-gosho turned to be the living quarters of the retired shogun, and his bedroom was decorated with figures in landscape; it was located to the north of the *Pictures of Agriculture* room, and. Prior to the construction of the tsune-no-gosho, Yoshimasa used another pavilion, which was decorated with different painting themes. Stanley baker, 1979.p. 88.

134 Reizei et al., 1996. p. 13.

135 Stanley Baker, 1979. p. 83.

136 Compare diagrams in: Horiguchi Sutemi 堀口捨己. 1978. *Shoin zukuri to sukiya zukuri no kenkyū* 書院造りと数寄屋造りの研究. Tokyo: Kagoshima 鹿島出版会.

Xiang, and contemporaneous sources are much more detailed about this space. We thus learn that poems were composed specifically for these wall paintings, following the practice at the *gozan* temples¹³⁷ of composing Chinese poems on painted Chinese landscapes. The poems were later mounted on album leaves (色紙, Jp. *shikishi*), and attached to the wall-and-door-paintings.¹³⁸ Unfortunately, there is no similar record of poems composed for the room with the agricultural scenes.

Despite the fact that agricultural scenes did not enjoy the prestige of the *Eight Views*, the paintings must have had some common stylistic and thematic characteristics that allowed them to be displayed side by side. The *Inryōken nichiroku* records several occasions in which the three southernmost rooms of the *tsune-no-gosho* were united to form one large hall by opening the conjoining sliding doors, to serve as a formal reception area for guests.¹³⁹ Such occasions may suggest that the rooms were stylistically united. I thus assume that the farming scenes were rendered as “figures in landscape.” Namely, as in the wall-paintings of the Daisen’in, much of the paintings’ composition was allocated for the depiction of Chinese-style mountain views.¹⁴⁰ I am inclined to think that the agricultural motifs in the *tsune-no-gosho* were arranged by season (most probably plowing to the east and harvesting to the west). The need to coordinate the styles of the three southern rooms may have led to including seasonal elements that characterized the

137 The term *gozan* 五山 (literally: five mountains) refers to leading Zen temples which were institutionalized by the Ashikaga shogunate.

138 This event was detailed in the *inryōken nichiroku*. See: Stanley-Baker, 1979. p. 84-85. For the remounting of *shikishi* as a *gozan* practice, see: Phillips, 2000. p. 85.

139 There is no information regarding the decoration in the third room. It is simply referred to as a “western (room) of six ma” (西六間). The central Room decorated with *Eight Views* was one of the three rooms whose sliding doors were removed on certain occasions to provide an enlarged reception area. The *inryōken* diary records one such occasion in 1489, when Yoshimasa was too ill to move from his bedroom (located to the north of the Plowing Room). A Buddhist ceremony for his benefit was held in the combined space of the *Eight Views* Room, the adjacent Plowing Room, and the neighboring western room of six-ma (Stanley-Baker, 1979. p. 85).

140 It is thus possible that the landscape elements in the Daisen’in’s *Pictures of Agriculture* were also based on this earlier adaptation. (Gerhart, personal communication).

Pictures of Agriculture into the adjacent *Eight Views*. Indeed, Stanley-Baker details that the *Eight Views* in the Higashiyama Palace were divided into the four seasons; a practice that was not part of the original Chinese design but developed in Japan during Shūbun's time.¹⁴¹ But while seasonal division was part of the original Chinese design of the *Pictures of Agriculture*, the insertion of seasonal motifs (景物, Jp. *keibutsu*) into the *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang* is interpreted as the Japanization of this theme. More precisely, the inclusion of seasonal motifs is seen as the influence of traditional Japanese culture, which often alludes seasonal motifs and place-names, on the adoption of the Chinese theme. While I agree with scholars such as Stanley-Baker and Namiki that the increase of seasonal motifs in Chinese-style works is related to local poetry traditions, I argue that architectural necessities also inspired this transformation. The need to display the *Eight Views* with agricultural scenes in the same space may have contributed to envisioning the Xiao and Xiang along a similar arrangement of the changing seasons. What began as a necessity developed in later periods to the conventionalized display of these themes.

Seasonal consciousness was related to architectural layout for an additional reason: the *tsune-no-gosho* opened onto the southern garden, which displayed an ideal view of a lake and mountains. When the *shōji* were slid open, viewers could reflect on the relationship between the painted interior and the modified exterior. This garden was both an attempt to create a simulacrum of the ideal Chinese landscape of mountains and water and to emulate the design of Kinkaku-ji Temple (金閣寺). It is important to remember that Kinkaku-ji and Muromachi-dono epitomized the Kitayama epoch, the heyday of the Ashikaga shoguns. They became significant

141 For the development of the Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang in Japan, see: Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System, 2003. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shoushouhakkei.htm> (accessed April 2010).

models to emulate at the time when the shogunate's fortunes and powers were declining.¹⁴² In fact, the painting themes that were appreciated by Yoshinori, such as the *Eight Views*, *Pictures of Agriculture*, *the Four Accomplishment*, and *Birds and Flowers in the Four Seasons* maintained a canonical position after the end of the Muromachi period. On the other hand, the emphases of style and meaning changed with the change in patronage.¹⁴³

2.4.3.3 The Art Inventory *Kundaikan*

Scholars derive additional information about the structure and decoration of the Higashiyama Palace from the *Kundaikan Sōchōki* (君台觀左右帳記, Chronicles of items displayed on stands in the private residence of the shogun.).¹⁴⁴ The date and the attribution of this text have long been debated since it has survived in various versions dating only from the sixteenth century and later, but it is believed that the text was written by Nōami and extended by Sōami.¹⁴⁵ The text is now comprised of three parts: (1) a list of Chinese painters divided into three qualitative grades and further subcategorized by historical periods,¹⁴⁶ (2) an illustrated guide for interior decoration (座敷飾, Jp. *zashiki kazari*), and (3) an illustrated explanation of the characteristics of Chinese utensils. The text was presumably used as a manual for interior decoration for special events, and it carries major importance for the study of the history of the

142 Stanley-Baker 1979. p. 84-85.

143 Stanley Baker, 1979. p. 231-238. This is the primary conclusion of his dissertation.

144 My translation of the title follow Horiguchi's explanation that *daikan* are stands on which decorations were displayed, and *sayū* refers to their proximity from the owner's body. Phillips translated "Records of the circle of the Shogun's Residence (Phillips, 2000.p. 16).

145 The comparison of the different versions provides work for many scholars. See for example the large volume : Yano Tamaki 矢野環. 1999. *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū: chabanakō no genten Edo shoki Ryūei gyobutsu no kettei* 君台觀左右帳記の総合研究—茶華香の原点 江戸初期柳営御物の決定 Tokyo: Bensei shuppan 勉誠出版.

146 The listing of Chinese artists suggests that the authors were acquainted with Chinese sources. It also suggests that by the late fifteenth century Japanese had the confidence to deviate from the Chinese model. See: Phillips, 2000. p. 16. Watabe Takeshi, however, that the list was compiled for prosaic reasons such as storage and airing (*mushiboshi*) (personal communication, 2007).

way of tea (茶道, Jp: *sadō*). Here I would like to examine two points in the text: an early record concerning the collection and display of *Pictures of Agriculture*, and evidence for the usage of Chinese painting manuals during the Ashikaga period.

The Ōtani University Library copy, one of the twenty-odd premodern copies of the *Kundaikan*, is the only one to list a reference to a Southern Song *Pictures of Agriculture*. In the inventory of paintings, we find the following quote:

金陵吳氏彦[]¹⁴⁷ [seal script]印 耕作山水 云馬遠似

This inscription refers to a landscape painting with agricultural scenes, which was executed in the style of Ma Yuan. It carries the Chinese seal of a certain Master Wu Yan [dai] of Jinling (today Nanjing), about whom nothing is known today. This painting is mentioned in a list of paintings from the Hōbōdaiin temple 宝菩提院 (at Gantoku-ji 願徳寺, Kyoto), recorded in the year 1536 (天文).¹⁴⁸ Since there are no other sources to support the existence of this painting, the reference in the Ōtani copy is possibly the result of a copier's mistake.¹⁴⁹ Still, it may suggest the existence of another precious copy of *Pictures of Agriculture* other than the Liang Kai copy that was preserved by the Kano school.

The second part of the *Kundaikan*, which deals with the interior decoration of the Higashiyama Palace, includes the following reference to the agricultural room. As common in such lists, it is written in a brief and concise manner:

West of [the eight views room] is the four-ma room of agriculture. To the north-east corner [we put] a zushi [a small cabinet], and on its shelves [we put utensils] as was done

147 The missing character is written as a 言代. It does not appear in Chinese or Japanese dictionaries.

148 Yano, 1999. p. 8, 341. The paintings listed in the *Kundaikan* were not necessarily part of the Ashikaga collection, but also paintings known to the dōbōshū.

149 The many differences between the various copies of the *Kundaikan* suggest that many mistakes were made during the copying.

in the time of the Ogawa palace,¹⁵⁰ a stand for stationary with ink-stone and hair-items,¹⁵¹ as before.¹⁵²

This description in fact refutes the assumption that the “room with agricultural pictures” was a public space, since the selected décor refers to private affairs. At the same time, the text ascribes neither importance to the content or style of the wall-paintings, nor a relationship between the decorative utensils and the original décor of the building.

The very act of compiling inventories, categorizing painters, and recording room décor in such a structured manner suggests that the *dōbōshū* and the tea masters who followed them, wanted to ritualize and canonize their activities. Their writings should be seen vis-à-vis the traditions of keeping records in both the Chinese and Japanese courts and temples. Nagata, Senda, and Naito suggested that the visual culture originated by the *dōbōshū* reflects an attempt to create an alternative to imperial traditions of room décor. In other words, the recording of décor reflects ahistorical consciousness: the shoguns asked to place themselves on the same cultural level as the court by creating enduring tastes and trends. Accordingly, the Ashikaga shoguns’ inclination towards things Chinese (*karamono*) and their emphasis on the Chinese pedigree of their paintings and utensils was a conscious denial of traditional Japanese themes, which were associated with the imperial court. Later records, however, reveal a growing similarity between the tastes of the shoguns and those of the court. The display of writing stationary, as seen in the

150 The Ogawa-gosho was one of Yoshimasa’s Kyoto palaces (on Aburakoji-dōri); it was burned down during the Ōnin wars.

151 These can refer to shaving utensils, but also to combs or hair-decoration. Another version of the *Kundaikan*, the Sanbon’in copy (三本院本) lists hand a wash-basin instead (see: Yano, 1999. p. 381).

152 Horiguchi, 1978. p. 408.

room with *Pictures of Agriculture*, is an example of décor associated with the literary traditions of the court that became popular in shogunal circles.¹⁵³

I would like to extend these notions to the wall painting tradition, and combine it with my assumptions regarding the previously discussed *Inryōken* diary. Earlier in this chapter, I conjectured that the agricultural scenes were probably avant-garde when first displayed at the Muromachi Palace; fifty years later, however, when copied on the walls of the Higashiyama palace, they were probably arranged in a seasonal manner that was closely associated with the imperial tradition of *waka* (Japanese poetry) and *shiki-e* (paintings of the four seasons).¹⁵⁴ Many scholars see the insertion of seasonal motifs into Chinese-style paintings as evidence of Japanization. In other words, they understand it to be the strengthening of local customs to the detriment of the original Chinese conventions. Phillips, for example, analyzed this tendency as evidence of the growing confidence in and maturation of Japanese culture.¹⁵⁵ Nonetheless, in this process I do not see an act symbolizing the attitude of the Japanese government towards China, but one that symbolizes the relationship between the Japanese government and the imperial court. Both the earlier denial of imperial traditions and their later emulation are acts of political importance in the power struggle between the imperial and shogunal courts. At the end of the fifteenth century, the shogunate's power was declining and the shoguns withdrew from worldly

153 Nagata Keiko 永田 恵子, Senda Mitsuru 仙田 満, and Naito Akira 内藤 昌. 1999. "Kundaikan Sōchōki" o kikan to suru reihōshokei dōgu hinagata (dōbōahu no sho) ni okeru shitsurei『君台觀左右帳記』を貴幹とする礼法書系道具雛型[同朋衆の書]における室礼 [Interior Design and Setting in Japanese Traditional Furniture Reference Books -the concept of courtesy [Dohosyu book]] *Summaries of technical papers of Annual Meeting Architectural Institute of Japan* F-2 (History and theory of architecture 1999):73-74. p. 74. This association of the court with literature (rather than reign) was in itself a reaction to the decline of the imperial power with the forming of the Kamakura shogunate.

154 Japanese poems conventionally referred to a seasonal element. At the Heian court paintings of the four-seasons were produced together with poems. This poem-painting tradition lingered throughout the premodern Japanese art.

155 Phillips, 2000.p. 16.

affairs; the adoption of the imperial tradition in matters of artistic taste may reflect recognition of their own diminished political authority.

In conclusion, the scroll attributed to Liang Kai probably arrived in Japan during the Eikyō era as a gift from high officials at the Ming court. It was readapted as a wall painting for the first time on the occasion of an imperial visitation to the Muromachi-dono shogunal palace in 1437, as part of a larger project of adopting Chinese painting styles into the newly constructed cultural sphere of the shoguns. The records focus on the work's stylistic novelty rather than on its content, but they disclose that the *Pictures of Agriculture* were displayed where there was tension between the emperor and the shogun. Below, I continue this line of thought and argue that beyond the canonization of Chinese painting styles, the *Pictures of Agriculture* were also reproduced for the political authority associated with the actual agriculture.

2.5 DAISEN'IN.

The secular themes associated with the shogunal palaces eventually gained favor in monastic circles, and became standards of decor.¹⁵⁶ The Muromachi period temple Daitoku-ji (大徳寺), which still stands in north-west Kyoto, is an important case study in our attempt to understand this transition. Its subtemples, which date to the later half of the Muromachi period like the Daisen'in (大仙院) and the Jukō-in (聚光院), display characteristics that represent architectural and aesthetic standards that were developed for the now-lost buildings of Kitayama and Higashiyama.

156 Stanley Baker, 1979. p. 99.

Daisen'in has attracted many scholars because it displays early examples of works attributed to canonic artists.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, its Zen mystique and fame as a tourist destination have attracted the attention of both scholars and lay visitors who have wondered about the connection between the decoration and the religious belief of the occupants and users of the space.¹⁵⁸ Current scholarship, on the other hand, contextualizes the Daitoku-ji Temple within the religious and economic networks of Zen priests, tea aficionados, the court, and the shogunate.¹⁵⁹

The wall paintings in the reception hall (礼の間, Jp. *rei-no-ma*) of the abbot's quarters (方丈, Jp. *hōjō*)¹⁶⁰ in the Daisen'in subtemple are the earliest surviving wall paintings of *Pictures of Agriculture*, and are thus of supreme importance for art historians. Below, I analyze these wall paintings against the backdrop of their commission and reception.

2.5.1 History of the Daisen'in

Daitoku-ji was established in the early fourteenth century as a Zen monastery; it was supported by both the imperial court and the military elite. This temple was greatly damaged

157 The Daisen'in is famous for wall paintings with *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang* attributed to Sōami in its main hall, and wall paintings of *Birds and Flowers in the Four Seasons* attributed to Kano Motonobu in the patron's hall. Being rare examples of these important masters, most of the research dedicated to the Daisen'in focused on these works, and the *Pictures of Agriculture* are usually assessed in relation to these images. In this study I skip most of the former scholarly discussion of the other rooms of the Daisen'in because they shed little light on analyzing *Pictures of Agriculture* as a political theme.

158 Such attitudes are embodied, for example, in: Jon Etta Hastings Carter Covell, and Sōbin Yamada. 1974. *Zen at Daitoku-ji*. [1st ed.] ed. Tokyo ; New York[New York: Kodansha International ;distributed by Harper & Row; Hans Günter Wachtmann, and Ingrid von Kruse. 2000. *Daisen'in: a 16th century Zen-temple in Kyoto*. München: Hirmer.

159 See in particular: Gregory P. A. Levine 2005. *Daitokuji: the visual cultures of a Zen monastery*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

160 The Japanese term *hōjō* (Ch: *fangzhang*) translates as "ten square feet," and signifies the ascetic hut of the recluse. The term was coined in relation to Buddha's lay follower Vimalakirti (Jp: Yuima, 維摩), and later turned to signify the residence of a high Zen priest. In seventh-century China, abbot's quarters combined influences of Indian monasteries and imperial residences; these were later apparent in the design of Zen monasteries in Japan. (Yifa, and Zongze. 2002. *The origins of Buddhist monastic codes in China: an annotated translation and study of the Chanyuan qinggui, Classics in East Asian Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 257).

during the Ōnin wars, after which the celebrated Zen master Ikkyū Sōjun (一休宗純 1394–1481) was appointed head priest. Widely known around Sakai, where he spent much of his life, Ikkyū's short priesthood is considered to be the temple's heyday.¹⁶¹ From the mid-fifteenth-century to the end of the sixteenth-century approximately twenty new subtemples were established within Daitoku-ji's precincts.¹⁶² Abbots were of aristocratic stock, members of daimyo families with ties to the court, or rich Sakai merchants.¹⁶³ We should examine the construction of the Daisen'in with this understanding.

Daisen'in was initiated upon the retirement of the seventy-sixth abbot of Daitoku-ji—Kogaku Sōkō (古岳宗亘, 1464-1548)—at the early age of forty-five.¹⁶⁴ The design and construction took place between 1509 and 1513, probably under Kogaku's close supervision.¹⁶⁵ Research by Nishi Kazuo established that the wall paintings were executed in 1535.¹⁶⁶ The temple's tradition suggests that Kogaku's elder brother—Rokkaku Masayori (六角政頼)¹⁶⁷ —

161 On Ikkyū and his circles, see also Phillips, 2000. p. 34-35.

162 There number, however, shrank dramatically during the Meiji restoration from sixty-eight to twenty-four. See: Levine, 2005. p. 52.

163 Covell, 1974. p. 26-28. Existing letters from emperors, aristocrats and *daimyō* in the Daisen'in storage support the assumption of such as a diverse patronage (see: Itō Katsumi 伊藤克己. 2000. *Daisen'in monjo* 大仙院文書, *Shiryō sanshū. Komonjo hen 31*. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai). Nevertheless, Lee Butler does not mention the aristocracy's involvement with the temple affairs until the seventeenth century (Lee Butler. 2002. *The Culture of a New Aristocracy*. In *Emperor and aristocracy in Japan, 1467-1680: resilience and renewal*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press). Based also on the temple's painting, I suggest that the Daisen'in was linked mainly to Ashikaga and Sakai circles at the time of its construction.

164 It is not clear why Kogaku retired, although this was probably customary because records of the main abbots in the Daitoku-ji testify that they changed frequently. Kogaku's most renowned successor as the nineteenth head of Daitoku-ji was Dairin Sōtō (大林宗套, 1480-1568. (Sen Sōshitsu. 1998. *The Japanese way of tea from its origins in China to Sen Rikyū*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 208).

165 These are widely accepted notions that are based on later materials. There are no contemporary records which refer to Kogaku's retirement and the decisions that preceded the construction of the subtemple.

166 Nishi Kazuo 西和夫. 1999. *Kenchiku to shōhehiga* 建築と障壁画. Vol. 1, *Kenchikushi kenkyū no shinshiten* 建築史研究の新視点. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版. p. 77-104. Nishi's conclusions are based on architectural research that took place during the restoration of the building, and are convincing. Still art historians find it very hard to accept the new date because it refutes the traditional attribution of the paintings in the central hall to Sōami (who died 1525).

167 Based on the signs at the entrance to the temple.

supported the Daisen'in as a family temple.¹⁶⁸ Consequently, it is thought that Kogaku's family, the Rokkaku (六角氏), were the predominant patrons of the Daisen'in.¹⁶⁹ Daisen'in's pamphlet additionally mentions the following names as supporters of Kogaku: Emperor Gokashiwabara (後柏原天皇, 1464-1526), the courtier Ichijō Fusafuyu (一条房冬, 1498-1541), the Sanjō brothers (三条公兄), and Rokkaku Sadayori (六角貞頼) and Kohara Yasusada (小原定保) of the warrior families.¹⁷⁰ These names suggest court patronage of the temple, perhaps derived from earlier ties of the Rokkaku family, descendants of the aristocratic Sasaki family at court.

2.5.1.1 The Rokkaku Family

The Rokkaku were *daimyō* of imperial descent who ruled as the *shugo* (守護, governors)¹⁷¹ of Ōmi province (近江, today's Shiga prefecture). They were among the strongest vassals of the Ashikaga shogunate from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The family supported the first Ashikaga shogun Takauji (足利尊氏, 1305-1358), and maintained close relations with the Ashikaga shogunate until its defeat in 1568.¹⁷²

168 It was common in the sixteenth century for warlords to commission family temples; these functioned for performing mortuary prayers to the family's ancestors. Gregory A. Levine. 1997. *Jukō-in: Art, Architecture and Mortuary Culture at a Japanese Zen Buddhist Temple*. History of Art, Princeton, Princeton. p. 609.

169 The identity of Daisen'in's patrons is not fully clarified, but both tradition and circumstantial evidence link the patronage to the Ashikaga circles, particularly to men identified with the Higashiyama culture (東山文化). Kogaku maintained close relations with the court, and with the tea circles of Sakai, and there is evidence that men of these circles took part in tea gatherings at the Daisen'in. This evidence is further supported by the fact that tea masters Takeno Jōō and Sen Rikyū studied under Kogaku's conspicuous follower Sōtō Dairin (see: Sen, 1998.p. 154, 161).

170 I could not locate further information about these men or their involvement with the Daisen'in. This point requires future research.

171 For a detailed discussion of the term *shugo* and its development in the fourteenth century, see: Jeffrey P. Mass, ed. 1997. *The origins of Japan's medieval world: courtiers, clerics, warriors, and peasants in the fourteenth century*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. p. 87-88.

172 The little attention given to the Rokkaku family in English historical writings, refers solely to their military achievements. See for example: Mikael S. Adolphson. 2000. *The gates of power: monks, courtiers, and warriors in premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 337.

The political treaty between the Ashikaga and the Rokkaku extended to the cultural sphere. For example, the tenth Ashikaga shogun Yoshitane (足利義稙, 1466-1523) was one of Kogaku's disciples. The prerogatives of the Rokkaku family as *shugo* were not confined to the muster of military forces, but extended into the realm of the judicial. Within their fief they had power over land transfers, collecting rent from rice fields, and over trade.¹⁷³ Their status dwindled with the decline of the Ashikaga authority, although Ōmi was still rich in agrarian resources and relatively wealthy. Historian Tonomura Hitomi wrote:

*In the first few years of the sixteenth-century, there was a sudden increase in the number of directives issued by the Rokkaku vassals. But this also represented yet another series of ongoing power struggles—in this case involving the shugo and his vassals. [...] The outcome of these events was the transfer of jurisdiction from the vassals to the shugo himself, but in the process, the fundamental weakness in the structure of Rokkaku power had been laid bare.*¹⁷⁴

Consequently, power struggles between the Rokkaku and their vassals were constant, and during the sixteenth-century they often deteriorated into bloody battles and the loss of land.¹⁷⁵ In addition, Kyoto suffered from recurring peasant uprisings (土一揆, Jp. *tsuchi ikki*) during the fifteenth-century. Peasants in the relatively wealthy surrounding areas (such as Ōmi and Sakai) were the most politically conscious, unified, and violent in their rebellion against the military governors. In other words, the Rokkaku family was involved in oppressing peasant uprisings in the generations prior to the temple's construction. I argue that the decline of the family's control

173 For a detailed discussion of the roles of the shugo during the fourteenth century, see: Thomas Nelson. 1997. *Bakufu and Shugo Under the Early Ashikaga*. In *The origins of Japan's medieval world: courtiers, clerics, warriors, and peasants in the fourteenth century*, edited by J. P. Mass. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

174 Tonomura Hitomi. 1992. *Community and commerce in late medieval Japan: the corporate villages of Tokuchinho*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. p. 34.

175 *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, 2002.

over its fiefs at the beginning of the sixteenth-century influenced its choice to display *Pictures of Agriculture* in the entrance to the family's temple.

2.5.2 The Abbot's Quarters at the Daisen'in

Daisen'in translates as the "recluse of the great ascetic," referring to one of Sakyamuni's titles and the temple's function as a retreat. This title creates the impression that the *hōjō* meant to create an experience of religious seclusion and sublime austerity in the temple, an impression that is affirmed by the subdued *wabi* interior design of the building.¹⁷⁶ Despite the temple's name, there is no evidence that it was used as a retreat. The name Daisen'in led earlier scholars to see the temple as a space designed for Zen-inspired seclusion and the attainment of enlightenment. Critics of this view argue, however, that its Zen reputation is a modern exegesis designed to promote tourism.¹⁷⁷ In fact, the meager early modern documents, however, recording the construction of the Daisen'in do not discuss the function of the halls.

In China, abbot's quarters were associated with social withdrawal, which was seen as possibly arising from a negative view of contemporary politics. Current scholarship on the Japanese case points out, however, that Chinese taste was adopted for its alternative political connotations, rather than for its original meaning in China. Because it was modeled after Chinese Zen temples, a visit to the Daisen'in could confirm a patron's involvement with elite Chinese culture and his or her political affiliation with the Ashikaga. It was thus a sense of hegemony, not

176 The aesthetic concept *wabi* was connected, in past research, to Japanese Zen, but currently it is customary to understand it as part of Chinese monastic tradition, which was reinterpreted in tea practices.

177 See for example Levine's comments on Orientalist-like fascination in English writings about the Daitoku-ji, and criticism of Covell (Levine, 2005.p. 277-281); Yamada on the making of Daisen'in's rock garden into a tourist destination in: Yamada Shōji, and Earl Hartman. 2009. *Shots in the Dark: Japan, Zen, and the West* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.p. 133-35. Similar attitudes were raised by these and other speakers in the Symposium: *Re-presenting Emptiness: A Symposium on Zen and Art in Medieval Japan*. 2007. Princeton University.

withdrawal, that characterized the visit to this “ideal recluse.” Zen architecture and art adopted the Chinese models as a form of support for, rather than disdain towards, the military regime.¹⁷⁸ We can imagine that visitors of various social standings came to the hall and appreciated its décor: warriors and their retinues, tea aficionados, and aristocrats.

2.5.2.1 Some Architectural Notes on the Abbot’s Quarters

The architectural conventions of the Japanese *hōjō* were standardized during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the Daisen’in is one of the earliest examples of this style. It combined influences of *shinden* architecture (寝殿造), with Song-dynasty Zen architecture: the rectangular one-storied structure was laid on wooden pillars set on round stone bases. The outer walls are translucent sliding doors and the interior is divided by painted sliding doors (襖絵, Jp. *fusuma-e*). It was surrounded by a wooden veranda (広縁, Jp. *hiroen*), and set within a garden. The various halls and garden testify to the variety of the main abbot's roles: religious, executive, social, and cultural. All of these characteristics we could also recognize at the earlier Higashiyama-dono.

The quarters are comprised of six rooms (figure 13). There are three public rooms to the south: the reception hall, the central chamber, and the patrons’ chamber; the three private rooms to the north are for study, sleep, and meditation. Here I refer in detail only to the reception hall (*rei-no-ma*), which was decorated with *Pictures of Agriculture*.

178 See especially Brown's *The Politics of Reclusion*. He wrote “Gozan poems and pictures on reclusion reveal the manifold desires for retreat to the elegant hermitage, refuge in the cleansing beauty of nature, retirement to the world of scholarly achievement, and return to the world of Chinese culture. In its intent, the reclusion of Gozan priests can be summarized as partly the sincere desire for world rejection and partly a pose intended to convey status” (Kendall H. Brown, 1997. *The politics of reclusion painting and power in Momoyama Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 46).

2.5.2.2 The *Rei-no-ma*: Functions and Décor

The *rei-no-ma* served as a waiting room for guests and their retinues, a place for entertainment, a conference room for temple personnel, and an anteroom for the abbot prior to his conducting formal ceremonies. Examining inventories of utensils brought to the *rei-no-ma*, Levine suggests that it was "a flexible space used for brief, simple meetings, or for impromptu gatherings."¹⁷⁹ This is to say that this space was low in religious significance, designed for visitors of various religious or cultural positions. Accordingly, the theme that was portrayed in the *rei-no-ma* did not require erudition to recognize: Chinese farmers laboring in the rice fields throughout the year.

The northern and western sliding doors of the reception hall were decorated with agricultural scenes attributed to the circle of Kano Motonobu (1476-1559, 狩野元信).¹⁸⁰ The artist mingled vignettes from model books with landscape elements (i.e. hills, rivers, trees), and arranged them in a balanced composition along the walls, a common practice of Kano school painters (figure 14-15). The agricultural vignettes reproduced here are similar to the ones we saw in the scroll attributed to Liang Kai. We notice (from right to left): planting, carrying the seedlings, transplanting, plowing, soaking the seeds, storing the rice, husking (both manually and with a millstone), threshing, harvesting, weeding, bringing food and drink to the workers,¹⁸¹ and

¹⁷⁹ Levine, 1997. p. 156-157.

¹⁸⁰ According to Wachtmann, whose book follows the temple's official narrative, Kano Utanosuke 雅楽助 (also known as Yukinobu 之信, ?1510 - d. 1575) painted the agricultural scenes. Utanosuke was the son and disciple of Masanobu, and brother and disciple of Motonobu. Both brothers fled to Miidera in Ōtsu (a Tendai temple) due to instability in Kyoto, where they painted fans (Wachtmann, 2000. p. 76). Tsuji Nobuo supports this narrative as he writes that the different painting styles in the various chambers of the Daisen'in resulted from Motonobu's cooperation with his disciples (in Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄. 1994. *Sengoku jidai Kano-ha no kenkyū : Kano Motonobu o chūshin to shite* 戦国時代狩野派の研究: 狩野元信を中心として. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan. p. 41-42). Simple calculation, however, shows that the wall-paintings can be attributed to Yukinobu only if we date their rendering to 1535—the date suggested by Nishi Kazuo (see footnote 166).

¹⁸¹ My categorizing of the scenes is slightly deviates from earlier sources. Lou Shu's twenty-one scenes did not include "carrying food and water to the fields," since this is not an agricultural technique. Although

irrigating. Additional figures observe the agrarian activities: an old man leans on his staff and watches the men who soak the seeds, a woman with a clinging toddler stands in the entrance to the storehouse, and an aged couple with a toddler is found in the entrance to the husking hut. While the working figures are young men and women, the observers are those who are unable to join the labor. These auxiliary figures help create a charming picture of the countryside where life is centered equally on labor and familial roles.¹⁸² The portrayal of people of all ages can be related to conveying the transience of time, an important part of the Buddhist creed.

Evanescence is also emphasized through seasonal motifs. Similarly to the scroll attributed to Liang Kai, the scattered trees mark the different seasons (cf. figure 14 and figure 22). This was a conventional technique to divide painterly composition into spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Note, however, that the seasonal cycle begins conventionally with spring, but peculiarly turns to winter, autumn, then summer. This unusual layout is due to the architecture of the building: the walls of the *rei-no-ma* could be painted only to the north and west. Since the south was associated with the summer, the scene of summer irrigation was placed on the Southern most wall, and the autumn, winter, and spring followed (we read the scene from left to right).

The seasonal layout also affected the way the images would be viewed. Upon entering the abbot's quarters, the viewers could probably recognize familiar agrarian themes, yet they may have needed a guide to make sense of the irregular composition. Kogaku could thus give a short sermon about nature and transience to his visitors, as he probably did with the images in his private rooms. The reception hall was opened for all visitors of the Daisen'in, in contrast to the

secondary to the main agrarian narrative, the "food bringing" vignette repeats in all adaptations of the *kōsakuzu*. It is based on the imagery of the *Seventh Month*, and thus carried classic baggage, in addition to its genre charm.

182 Both this older man and the mother in the entrance to the storehouse call to mind genre scenes in *yamato-e* style handscrolls. For vignettes of children in handscrolls, see: Kuroda Hideo, 黒田日出男. 1989. "Emaki" kodomo no tōjō: chūsei shakai no kodomozō「絵巻」子どもの登場：中世社会の子ども像. Tokyo: Kawade shōbō shinsha 河出書房新社.

northern part of the quarters, where only select visitors were allowed. The private section was decorated with Zen figures from the kōan compilation *Mumonkan* (無門關, *The Gateless Barrier*), and it is possible that Kogaku lectured his visitors about the text in a manner similar to *etoki* (narration of Buddhist tales with the assistance of pictures). I am, therefore, inclined to see Kogaku lecturing to his visitors about transience using the familiar images of plowing and harvesting. This interpretation suggests that *Pictures of Agriculture* were selected for display in the reception hall because they were appropriate for audiences with no religious background and, as we will see below, the composition helped the abbot introduce his worldview to such an audience.

2.5.2.3 Comparison of the Daisen'in to Chinese Models

In addition to the compositional adaptations detailed above, I would like to point out the significant iconographical alteration of some of the figures. As in all other adaptations of Lou Shu's poems, the scroll attributed to Liang Kai opens with a figure of a man leaning on a staff and observing the farmers commencing the process of rice cultivation by soaking the grains (figure 16). His shoes, long sleeves, and hat suggest a higher social status than that of the laboring farmers. The viewers of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* scrolls were also of higher social status than the farmers and—through these poems and images—could observe the farmers' life. The figure of the administrator is also mentioned in the poem "Seventh Month": "the surveyer of fields comes and is pleased" (田峻至喜).¹⁸³ This figure was rendered in illustrations of the *Shijing* (figure 17), and was probably recognizable to a reader of Lou Shu's

183 Murray, Julia. 1997. Illustrations of "Seventh Month" in the Odes of Pin: The Evolution of a Theme. *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 32 (2/3):1-41. p. 33.

poems.¹⁸⁴ This figure thus linked between the peasants and the designated readers of the scrolls; he is close to the farmers, yet of a different class because he is an observer rather than a participant. In terms of reception, the figure allowed the viewers to enter the world of the farmers from the safe standpoint of an onlooker.

The observing supervisor is found two more times in the original *Pictures of Agriculture*: pointing to a woman in the field during the summer (figures 18 and 19), and at the entrance to the storehouse during the autumn harvest (figure 21). In comparison, the Daisen'in wall paintings seem to suggest other interpretations of this figure. The supervisor with the staff was rendered as part of the spring scene, and thus his earlier key position as “narrator” was marginalized (figure 16). Moreover, the figure is changed into an old man here, thus his outside position can be explained by his age, not his social position. This change is not accidental. Also the supervisor who counts the yield at the entrance to the storehouse in the Freer scroll was replaced in the Daisen'in with a seated woman holding a child (figure 22), and the figure supervising the harvest is depicted in the Daisen'in accompanied by a child (figure 20).¹⁸⁵ The child gives the man a grandfatherly air rather than the appearance of a field supervisor.

The Freer scroll portrays a fourth supervisor that does not appear in the scroll attributed to Liang Kai.¹⁸⁶ Holding a fan in one hand and a pitcher in the other, he observes the farmers in the third weeding (figure 23). This image echoes the depiction of the women bringing food and drink to their husbands in the “second weeding” scene, and can thus imply that the supervisor is bringing refreshments to the farmers. The fan in his hand tells of the great heat, and suggests that

184 The attributes of the characters in the Liang Kai scroll are less prominent than in the Einō copy (see 3.2.5.1). In the Einō version, the figure of the field supervisor is repeated also in the weeding scene, and it carries additional attributes (such as a parasol or a fan), which suggest that he does not take part in the labor.

185 It is hard to notice the details in this case, because the *fusuma-e* are now rendered as hanging scrolls. Judging from reproductions, this figure was depicted at the margin of the door frame, and was not preserved well.

186 For a full reproduction of the Liang Kai copy, see: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990. p. 38-39.

the supervisor goes to the fields despite the heat and sees the farmers' suffering. Surprisingly, a similar figure is used in the Daisen'in painting: a barefoot man who carries a water pitcher in one hand and a Chinese fan in the other is depicted at the foot of the irrigation scene (figure 24). Here, too, we see the tendency to replace an supervising figure with a farmer's figure. But this figure is important also for another reason, the figure of the man with the fan does not appear in the scroll attributed to Liang Kai we know it today (figure 12), and thus suggests that the *Pictures of Agriculture* in the Daisen'in were based on a different model.

This observation refutes prior studies of the Daisen'in, since it is commonly thought that the agrarian images were faithfully based on the scroll attributed to Liang Kai. Because the actual Scroll that was authenticated but Sōami (see 2.4.2.1) is lost today, it is impossible to fully establish any original similarity between the works.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the pitcher-carrying figure suggests that the original Scroll attributed to Liang Kai may have included more scenes than is currently thought, or even that the wall paintings were based on a different model. This figure further supports my argument, moreover, that any of the characters associated with authority were eliminated from the Daisen'in version on conscious decision to alter any indication of supervision and control of the farmers. I argue that the selection of motifs for the Daisen'in was not an arbitrary process of mix-and-match of vignettes from a fashionable model-book. The

¹⁸⁷ This finding leads to numerous conjectures regarding the original "Liang Kai" scroll. The fact that the "original" we have today (the so-called Liang Kai scroll at the Tokyo National Museum) is later than its copy (Daisen'in) may suggest that the former was not an authentic copy of the now lost scroll attributed to Liang Kai. It is not implausible that the original Chinese scroll resembled the Freer scroll more than it was thought so far, and some parts were damaged or neglected with the years. Consequently, the Kano disciples made abbreviated-copies of this scroll, and perhaps even reconstructed the scroll relying of the Daisen'in images and agrarian manuals. At the same time, the existence of the actual *Pictures of Sericulture* scroll attributed to Liang Kai at the Cleveland Museum denies any attempt to refute the accepted assumption that the "Liang Kai copy" is indeed a true copy of the scroll in the Ashikaga collection, because the two scrolls are similar. Nevertheless, the Cleveland scroll was identified as a Yuan work by Wai Kam Ho (Wai Kam Ho et al., 1980. p. 78-80), while Liang Kai was a Southern Song painter. A recent inquiry to the Cleveland Museum retrieved that the scroll was never dated scientifically, thus its dating, origin, and link to the eighteenth century copy require further research.

transformation of supervisors into farmers is unique to the Daisen'in, and supports the idea that decisions about what should be included were being consciously made for the function of each individual space.

Who ordered these alterations and why? Unfortunately, there are no contemporaneous documents that shed light on the commission of the images. Still, examining the work against its historical background, with particular attention to reception, may suggest that the patrons wanted to avoid supervising figures associated with social control because of looming political turmoil.

2.5.3 Ideal Space and Ideological Space

The elimination of the field supervisors in favor of portraying a harmonious and autonomous society can be linked to the creation of an ideal environment in two respects. First, according to Zen tenets and second, in relation to the social and political standing of the Rokkaku family, as I suggested in the previous section.

It is important to understand that many elements in the creation of the Daisen'in were intended to make it a simulacrum of ideal space. Ideal spaces were intended to be holy havens where one could retreat from suffering, a step that would eventually lead to Buddhist enlightenment. In fact, Buddhist temples were often planned to represent a space beyond this world, a heavenly retreat where the believer could practice non-attachment. Zen temples incorporated visual elements in order to represent enlightenment; these were mostly based on Song-dynasty arts, and thus conveyed a yearning for things Chinese along with a yearning to attain *satori*. As I noted above, the Daisen'in hōjō served as private offices rather than a retreat, but its style was chosen to reflect the ritualistic and religious functions of the building.

2.5.3.1 China as Ideal Space

Viewers probably recognized the farmers' attire in the wall paintings of the *rei-no-ma* as foreign; but, activities such as tilling and harvesting probably evoked a sense of the familiar for visitors from rice-producing Ōmi prefecture.¹⁸⁸ Such appreciation pointed to similarities between "China" and "Japan." The first being the aspired ideal and the second its imperfect variation. Andrew Watsky wrote: "[t]he Chinese themes that dominated Kano paintings were those of ancient China: the distant, revered, imagined, model of the past, against which the present Japanese warriors measured and compared themselves. Hence, paintings abounded of Confucian exemplars of ethical behavior, Daoist immortals and Chan/Zen figures."¹⁸⁹ I thus see the Chinese farmers in the *rei-no-ma* as models of Confucian etiquette. As I noted earlier, images of farmers stood as a synecdoche for the holistic Confucian worldview in China, a view that connected harmony in nature to correct human conduct. While China and Chinese style were the main source of cultural capital for the Zen temples and the Ashikaga circles, things Chinese could represent alternatives to the Japanese imperial court. Following this line of signifiers, any mention of political coercion had to be eliminated from images in order to perfect the experience of "China".¹⁹⁰

188 Rice is the main crop produced in Shiga prefecture today (Kōdansha, 1999), and this may reflect similar conditions during the fifteenth century.

189 Watsky, Andrew. 2006. Locating 'China' in the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan. *Art History*. p. 609.

190 This supposition can further support two hypotheses. One, that Kogaku knew Lou Shu's poems and their criticism of the Chinese taxation system; and second, that Kogaku utilized the wall-paintings for his religious teachings (in a manner similar to *etoki*).

2.5.3.2 Four Seasons as an Ideal Space¹⁹¹

Like Confucianism, Daoism perceived seasonal change as evidence of holistic harmony because seasonal change derives from the dynamic balance between *yin-yang* and the five elements. This was also the approach adopted by Zen. For example, a famous dialogue (問答, Jp. Mondō) attributed to the Tang master Zhaozhou (趙州, Jp: Jōshū, 778-897) reads:

A monk asked, "What is the substance of the true person?"

The Master said, "Spring, Summer, autumn, winter,"

The monk said, "In that case, it is hard for me to understand,"

The Master said, "You asked about the substance of the true person, didn't you?"¹⁹²

The enigmatic language here refers to one of the four noble truths of the Buddha: the impermanence of all things. Here, it is combined with the Daoist holistic view of nature and thus defines the “substance of a true person” for the bewildered disciple. Since in Buddhism awareness of impermanence was the way to enlightenment, the depiction of orderly seasons symbolized teaching of the enlightenment, as is the case in the dialogue. Onishi wrote: “[t]he underlying psychological aim of such subjects was to lead one away from the mundane, to a calm, ideal world within an eternal seasonal cycle—to create a meditative spirit.”¹⁹³ Thus, the seasonal array was part of the making of Daisen’in into a representation of the ideal.

However, in 1989 the Chinese art historian Ogawa Hiromitsu published a groundbreaking article in *Kokka* in which he espoused a more complex reading of the seasonal motifs in the wall

191 For a detailed discussion of wall-paintings and seasonal motifs, see: Bejarano, Shalmit. 2001. *The Four Seasons Principle and Ideal Space: Annual Cycle in Screens and Wall Paintings – Depiction and Messages* (四季の原理と理想郷—障壁画に再現された四季の循環とそのメッセージ), *History of Art and Aesthetics*, Dōshisha University, Kyoto.

192 Stephen Addiss, Stanley Lombardo, Judith Roitman, Paula Arai. 2008. *Zen Sourcebook: Traditional Documents from China, Korea, and Japan*. Hackett Publishing. p. 81

193 Onishi Hiroshi. 1993. Chinese Lore for Japanese Spaces. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 51 (1): 3-47. p. 37.

paintings of the Daisen'in.¹⁹⁴ He compared the seasonal composition of the *rei-no-ma* to wall paintings in which the changing seasons surrounds the viewer in full cycle. In the latter, the seasonal paintings surround the viewer from all sides: spring to the east, summer to the south, autumn to the west, and winter to the north; this mode of representation symbolizes the initiation of the viewer into an ideal space or enlightenment. In comparison, in the *rei-no-ma* the audience views the circular arrangement of the seasons on the surrounding walls, and the seasonal cycle does not fully encompass the viewer (see figure 25). Therefore, Ogawa termed this layout semi-official (準公). Semi-official seasonal cycles are found in works intended to ordain the viewer for religious roles. Consequently, he assumed that the abbot used the *rei-no-ma* to prepare before commencement of a ritual.¹⁹⁵ Drawing on various seasonal diagrams, Ogawa concluded that the *hōjō* represents ideal Zen space, and each chamber represented a step in the achievement of enlightenment—worship (main hall), learning (study), or financial support of a temple (patrons' chamber). The diagram implies Kogaku's preferred hierarchy in attaining the way: Zen practice and ritual over studying—ideology that corresponds to the teaching of the Rinzai sect. In conclusion, Ogawa's analysis adds more complexity to an understanding of the practical and spiritual functions of the *rei-no-ma*. More important to my analysis, his conclusions support my argument that Kogaku took special steps to manipulate every aspect of the wall paintings to suit his own ideological beliefs. The Daisen'in's *hōjō* was designed to convey a message in favor of Zen tenets over governmental order. Any detail that could imply otherwise was subordinated to the overall message.

194 Ogawa Hiromitsu 小川裕充 The Sliding Door paintings in the *Hōjō* of Daisen'in: the general plan of the paintings and the position they hold in the history of eastern partition panel painting. 大仙院方丈襖絵考—方丈襖絵の全体計画と東洋障壁画史に占めるその史的位. *Kokka* 国華. 1120:13-30;1121:33-49;1122:9-19.

195 This conclusion does not exclude the use of the *rei-no-ma* also as a reception hall.

2.5.3.3 Ideal Space as Dissent

Historical records portray Kogaku in a manner similar to Ikkyū: he gained his position in times of instability and, due to his social connections, he restored the temple's financial and religious position.¹⁹⁶ Consequently, I am inclined to see Kogaku's retreat as a space designed for religious practices and for maintaining social networks. In addition to being designed as a sophisticated Zen retreat, as we saw above, the Daisen'in was also the family temple of the Rokkaku. Offspring of the aristocratic Sasaki family, the Rokkaku family maintained their family ties and networks in the capital through the patronage of a family temple in Kyoto.

As I detailed above, the decades preceding the construction of the Daisen'in marked the decline of power of the Ashikaga shogunate and their supporters, who gradually lost control of their fiefdom as peasants and samurai rebelled against their supremacy. I argue that the choice to depict an ideal agricultural society in the reception room was linked to the patrons' wish for a harmonious society. Images in temples, after all, were thought of as a religious implement for manipulating the spiritual world, fulfilling the same functions of prayers. Moreover, the elimination of any reminders of supervision and taxation from the paintings may suggest that these issues were sensitive or controversial for the *shugo* who were gradually losing their economic means and political legitimacy. Since the paintings were intended to secure the image of the Rokkaku in the eyes of the temple's visitors, any hints suggesting otherwise were changed.

In conclusion, we can see that already at this early stage, the commission of farming scenes was meant to convince the audience of the political legitimacy of the patrons. Like the Chinese precedents, *Pictures of Agriculture* were displayed as symbols of good government and

¹⁹⁶ Covell, 1974. p. 73-74.

Confucian values. This world view, however, was a myth that was used to counter political discontent.

3.0 CHAPTER 2: KANO SCHOOL PRODUCTION THROUGH THE PRISM OF *PICTURES OF AGRICULTURE AND SERICULTURE*

3.1.1 Preface

The reproduction of artifacts, notes art historian Morgan Pitelka, invokes the aura and authority of ancient “originals.”¹⁹⁷ Consequently, studying the mechanisms of reproduction “helps us to understand the operation of tradition itself.”¹⁹⁸ Originally referring to tea practices, Pitelka’s argument is also appropriate for interpreting the set of values with which the Kano school operated. The argument becomes even more meaningful when we examine the Kano school’s depictions of rice farming, since rice is deeply ingrained in Japan’s myths, history, economy, and folk-customs. Tracing the reproduction of rice farming images by the Kano school, as I do in my study, will lead us to an understanding of painterly traditions and shed light on the paintings’ role in historiography.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I examined the *original* to which later painters ascribed “aura and authority”—the pair of ancient scrolls attributed to Liang Kai. I argued that both the subjects of agriculture and sericulture and the Song-dynasty mystique were used to

197 Pitelka builds on the concepts discussed by Walter Benjamin in his seminal article. See: Walter Benjamin. 1936. The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. <http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm> (accessed April 2010).

198 Morgan Pitelka. 2007. Back to the fundamentals: ‘reproducing’ Rikyū and Chōjirō in Japanese tea culture. In *The culture of copying in Japan: critical and historical perspectives*, edited by R. A. Cox. London; New York: Routledge. p. 128-129.

reinforce the political legitimacy of the Ashikaga shogunate. Later on, as with other Chinese paintings in the Ashikaga collection, the copy of Liang Kai's *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* scroll became a model book for the Kano painters. As a prestigious model that inspired dozens of artworks throughout the early modern period, it extended the cultural relevance of the original.

In this chapter, I discuss the seventeenth-century transmission of the *original Chinese* vignettes into *Japanese* figures and landscapes. This leads me to argue that the Japanization of the images was not merely related to shifting tastes, but reflected the intellectual discourse regarding the Kano school's art and identity. Moreover, due to the place given to the Kano school within the Japanese canon and the prominence of agricultural images in the formation of the modern Japanese identity, the agricultural images were turned into symbols of a nostalgic past by modern Japanese historians. It is thus important to examine how the Chinese pictures were naturalized into images of Japanese tradition, and what artistic and intellectual mechanisms turned the fictitious depictions of farmers into reflections of reality. The following text answers only some of these questions, but it helps fine-tune our understanding of the Kano school's reproduction methods.

3.1.2 Model Books: Copy and Change

As I explain in the introduction, Kano school training focused on the copying and memorizing of selected painted models (Jp. *funpon*, 粉本). To train an apprentice, the master ordered him (or rarely, her) to trace a model by using white *gofun* (胡粉) powder (after which this method is named), and later to repaint the forms until the model was effectively memorized.

This pedagogy was not dissimilar to the way calligraphy is still taught, and relies on the same logic: after the student masters the basic letters, he or she is ready to create new compositions and texts. The models selected for copying depended on the disciple's level and on the teacher's collection of painted models and illustrated books. According to late-nineteenth-century sources, Kano workshops in Edo taught flower-and-bird models to beginners, figure paintings to the more advanced students, and paintings by the school's leading masters (i.e. Motonobu 元信 1476-1559 and Tan'yū 探幽 1602-1674) and canonized Southern Song painters (Ma Yuan 馬遠, Xia Gui 夏圭 and Liang Kai 梁楷) to the mature disciples.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, we can deduce that models of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were copied by advanced and mature students.

Existing paintings testify that throughout the Edo period Kano disciples practiced and memorized the Liang Kai model of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, as well as later arrangements of the theme by Tan'yū and Motonobu.²⁰⁰ For example, among the large collection of Kano school copies (模本 Jp. *mohon*) preserved in the Tokyo National Museum, there are several unsigned copies of screens with scenes of agriculture or sericulture.²⁰¹ The works are in impeccable condition and not all of them are mounted; many pieces show the influence of Kano

199 For a detailed discussion of painting practices in the Kano school see: Brenda G. Jordan and Victoria Louise Weston, eds. 2003. *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press; Brenda G. Jordan 1998. Education in the Kano School in Nineteenth Century Japan: Questions about the Copy-book Method. In *Learning in likely places: varieties of apprenticeship in Japan*, edited by J. C. Singleton. Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 45-67.

200 The copying of the Liang Kai scrolls by Izawa Hachirō (1786) discussed in the first chapter is a conspicuous example of these practices. Copiers often reproduced the signature of the original painter, and therefore later copies by disciples are sometimes attributed mistakenly to earlier Kano masters.

201 This collection of Kano school copies is listed in the catalogs of the museum collections: Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物. 1953/1977. *Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan mokuroku (kaiga, shoseki, chōkoku, kenchiku)* 東京国立博物館目録(絵画、書跡、彫刻、建築) edited by Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物. Tokyo. The copies were never exhibited and were researched briefly by Tsuji Nobuo. See: Tsuji Nobuō, 辻 惟雄. 1993. Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan zō kano-ha mohon nitsuite 東京国立博物館蔵狩野派模本について. *Museum ミュージアム*. 507 (June):18-34. In my visit to the museum I was admitted to see six copies of screen-models with vignettes from *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.

Tan'yū's motifs and brush techniques.²⁰² There are no additional documents to provide further pedigree for the works, but my own examinations suggest that they were produced during the late Edo period as an exercise by advanced disciples of the Edo-Kano schools.²⁰³

3.1.3 Japanization

The term “Japanization” (和様化, Jp. *wayōka*) refers to the creation or representation of an imported object using a Japanese set of styles and values. It is identical to the term indigenization that is used today in the cultural discourse on globalization. The Japanese term *wayōka*, which is used by art historians, was coined in the modern period; it is based on the ancient term “*wa*” (倭; also read as *yamato*), which dates back to the Nara period (710-794).²⁰⁴ Art historian Takeda Tsuneo even dedicated a recent survey of the Kano school to this question: *Research of the Kano School's Wall- and-door Paintings: Concerning Japanization*.²⁰⁵ Faithful to his method of meticulous stylistic and technical analysis, Takeda defines Japanization as adapting “Chinese-style painting” (漢画, Jp. *kanga*) to the large formats and painting techniques of “Japanese-style paintings” (大和絵, Jp. *yamato-e*). The Chinese themes and styles were

202 These conditions suggest that the *kōshoku-zu* continued to serve as practiced models, but also that these models were rarely displayed. If so, it indicates the decreasing commissions of folding screens with agrarian images.

203 I am thankful to Mr. Hiroyuki Good of the East Asian library in the University of Pittsburgh for kindly helping arrange my visit to the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. I also wish to thank curator Tomita Jun and the staff of the museum's library, who helped me search for further materials concerning the works. Despite their efforts, the only materials that could be located regarding the Kano school's copies were the Meiji period receipts of purchase. These include no further details about the source of the works.

204 The characters 和 (*wa*) and 倭 (*wa/yamato*) are used interchangeably. Each has different charged etymology, which is beyond the limits of this research. *Wayō* was used from the Nara period (*Nihon Kokugo daijiten*, 2006), while the suffix *ka* (化) characterizes modern scholarship.

205 Takeda Tsuneo, 武田恒夫. 2002. *Kano-ha Shōheki-ga no kenkyū: wayōka o megutte* 狩野派障屏画の研究: 和様化をめぐる [Studies of Kano School Wall- and Screen- Paintings: Regarding Japanization]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館.

rendered on large formats such as walls, doors, and folding screens, with particular attention to the seasonal layout of the composition, vivid color scales, and poetic associations. Takeda explains that the term “Japanese paintings” (*yamato-e*) was first recorded in the Nara period, and the term for Chinese painting (唐絵, Jp. *kara-e*), literally meaning “Tang paintings” was coined during the early Heian period coinciding with imports from the Tang and Song dynasties. Additional term to denote Chinese paintings “*kanga*” (漢画, Jp. *kanga*) appeared along with the existing term “*kara*” in Heian period sources, but the differences between the terms *kanga* and *kara-e* for their Heian period spectators are not clear. With the import of Song-dynasty paintings, the term *kanga* shifted to distinguish Song-dynasty paintings from the earlier *kara-e* style; this distinction remained during the early modern period. The definitions and usages of the above terms changed from one period to another; conventionally today *kara-e* defines the Tang blue-and-green style and themes, and *kanga* defines monochrome ink paintings, yet there is no scholarly agreement as for the usage of the terms in earlier periods as they are based primarily on succinct diary entries rather than actual artworks. The combination “Japanese and Chinese” (和漢, Jp. *wakan*) was also coined during the Heian, and appears in titles of poetry anthologies.²⁰⁶

Takeda thus points out that beyond issues of style, the so-called Chinese and Japanese paintings testify to the intellectual environment of the Heian courtiers. Chino Kaori, in her acclaimed study “Gender in Japanese Art,” also demonstrated that the terms “*kara*” and “*yamato*” signified issues of self-identity for the courtiers. Japanese identity was defined vis-à-vis China, but and depended at the same time upon one’s own gendered identity at court.²⁰⁷

206 Takeda, 2000. p. 3-4.

207 Chino Kaori. 2003. Gender in Japanese Art. In *Gender and power in the Japanese visual field*, edited by J. S. Mostow, N. Bryson and M. Graybill. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 13-34. Unfortunately, in this study Chino does not survey to the early modern period.

Nonetheless, studies give us very little indication of the differences between Heian-period “Japanese” and “Chinese” images, their different usage (if any), nor of the reasons for the ongoing national categorization.²⁰⁸ The usage of Japanese and Chinese as binary terms seems to evolve from ideological perspective, rather than from formal and stylistic differences. Was Kano Einō (1631- 1697) ideologically motivated when, at the end of the seventeenth-century, he wrote that the Kano school style combined “Japanese painting” (和画) and “Chinese painting” (*kan-ga*)? To begin to answer this question, I will examine Japanized paintings of *Pictures of Agriculture* by Kano school artists.

3.2 PICTURES OF AGRICULTURE BY KANO SCHOOL ARTISTS

3.2.1 The Hori Family Scroll

One of the key works in the study of the Japanization of the *Pictures of Agriculture* is the *Hori Family Scroll* (堀家本 Jp: *Horikebon*).²⁰⁹ It is titled after its uncommon collection: the Hori family was the former village head (庄屋, Jp. *shōya*) of Jōyō (now a city to the south of

208 The dearth of Heian artworks precludes concrete extensive research of stylistic trends. Still, none of the existing so-called *yamato-e* images can be defined as completely distinct from Chinese style. Even the most conspicuous examples (such as the *senzui byōbu* screens) show obvious links to Tang’s blue-and-green style, and the Byōdōin doors cannot be examined apart from continental Buddhist iconography. While Takeda Tsuneo (and others) claim that painted folding screens are idiosyncratic to Japan, painted walls and doors characterize other Asian arts. Namely, the definition of Japanization cannot be based solely on formal characteristics.

209 I am grateful to both Prof. Kōno and Dr. Tataru for kindly sharing the images and their studies with me. See their articles: Kōno Michiaki, 河野, 通明. 1991. Hori-ke-bon "shiki kōsakuemaki" no seiritsu. 堀家本『四季耕作絵巻』の成立. *Rekishi to Minzoku* 歴史と民俗 7: 7-78 ; Tataru Takiko, 多田羅 多起子. 2008. Kinseishotō ni okeru kyōganoke no kōsakuzu: Horikebon genpon to no kankei o chūshin ni 近世初頭における京狩野家の耕作図-堀家本原本との関係を中心に [Kousaku zu (Agriculture paintings) by the Kyou-Kano family during the early Edo Period]. *Journal of the Japan Art History Society* 美術史. 57 (2):347-364.

Kyoto) during the Edo period. The scroll was discovered inside the family's storehouse in 1989, and it is thought to be a work by one of its ancestors completed in the second half of the Edo period.²¹⁰

The scroll depicts the twenty-four stages of the agricultural process and ends with the following inscription (figure 28):

*The pictures to the right originated in old pictures of a Chinese-style painting [kanga]. They were changed to Japanese style [nihon-tai], by the brush of the late master hōkyō Sansetsu. A rare jewel.*²¹¹

*The third year of Enkyō [1746], third month, lucky day. Copied by: Aramashi.*²¹²

The reference to Sansetsu as a model suggests that the work was made by follower of the Kyoto-Kano (京狩野 Jp. Kyō-Gano) school in the eighteenth-century. The thin, translucent paper the unknown artist used may indicate that the work was rendered as his part of a copying practice.

The scroll has been studied by both Kōno Michiaki and Tatara Takiko. Both agree that the scroll is based on the images in a Ming-dynasty book by Song Zonglu (宋宗魯) (figure 49-55, 88, 89) that was later reprinted and published by Kano Einō (see section 3.2.5.1). It is additionally agreed that the scroll played an important role in later Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture* by Kyoto Kano artists. It is unclear, however, when the *original* scroll was produced. Kōno noted that a second inscription inside the scroll indicates that it was originally created at 1573, which means that Sansetsu (who was born only in 1589) could not be the painter. Kōno

210 Reizei et al, 1996. p. 28.

211 The term "rare jewel" (珍寶) referred to a treasured artwork displayed to important guests (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2006), as may be the case also here.

212 Original text: 右之図本漢画古図也 日本体改メ先師 法橋山雪筆珍寶有也 延享三寅花月吉日 荒魔志之写。My translation is based on Kōno Michiaki transcription in: Reizei et al., 1996. p. 28.

conjectured therefore that the mismatch of dates was the fault of the later copier, who replaced Sanraku's (1559-1635) name with his son Sansetsu's name (1589-1651) when indicating the originator of the scroll.²¹³ Tatara Takiko, on the other hand, examined the stylistic aspects of the scroll, and concluded that it shows evidence of the style of Sansetsu, and thus dated it to the beginning of the seventeenth-century.²¹⁴

My study of the Hori images focuses on another issue. I am less interested in the exact historical facts (which we will probably never sort out) than in the narrative the painter conveyed. This narrative is concerned with lineage: the agricultural scenes were originally Chinese paintings; they were transformed by Sansetsu and the later painter follows this tradition. The signature and date at the end of the inscription emphasize the authenticity of the painter's narrative. This narrative thus reflects the significance of lineage to the painter. Lineage was indeed essential to the historiographical writing of the Kano school, since it confirmed the school's status and privileges within the highly competitive art world of the Edo period.²¹⁵ The inscription in the Hori Family Scroll seems, thus, to offer one more case study of the Kano utilization of tradition to consolidate their place in the artistic canon. Still, the inscription testifies to an awareness of a concrete work-process—the Japanization of a Chinese model—that has been discussed hitherto mainly from a theoretical or stylistic viewpoint. I therefore would like to examine more carefully the visual aspects of this work-process, before getting into a theoretical discussion.

213 Kōno, 1991.p. 62-63.

214 Tatara, 2008.

215 Karen Gerhart. 2003. Talent, training, and power: the Kano painting workshop in the seventeenth century. In *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting.*, edited by B. G. Jordan, and V. Weston. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.p. 9-30; Yukio Lippit. 2003. *The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Kano Artists, Authors, and Authenticators of the Seventeenth Century*, History of Art, Princeton Univeristy.

3.2.2 The Chinese-style Pictures that Inspired the Hori Family Scroll

The inscription at the end of the Hori scroll testifies to a transmission from Chinese style to Japanese style painting, and credits Kano Sansetsu as the creator of the scroll, which the artist – Aramashi – used for his copy. This is important evidence of the Japanizing process, about which very little is known. What Chinese models were used by Sansetsu? What did he choose to eliminate and what did he add? Did the changes follow any guidelines or were they simply the product of artistic creativity? As a first step in investigating these issues, I examine the possible Chinese illustrations that inspired the Hori Family Scroll, and—unlike Kōno and Tatara— I argue that Sansetsu possibly gleaned his agricultural images from several Chinese sources.

As I mentioned above, there is no dispute that Sansetsu primarily adapted images from the Ming-dynasty book by Song Zonglu (later copied by Kano Einō); their compositions are similar and they deal with similar themes (for example, cf. figure 30 and figure 53). Still, despite the many similarities between the images, the closing scene of the Japanese scroll leads me to propose that its painter was using at least one more pictorial model. This image (figure 32), according to Kōno, depicts the “new year’s greetings” (年始の挨拶) paid by the farmers to (possibly) the head of the village.²¹⁶ The scene takes place around a sunken hearth (囲炉裏, Jp. *irori*): a smiling older man holds a *sake* cup, which is filled by a squatting younger man (to the right); another man uses a hollow piece of bamboo to fan the flames of the fire (to the left). Two other farmers are depicted prostrating themselves on the veranda; one raises a *sake* cup in a gesture of gratitude. Vessels and cups scattered around the house convey a feeling of celebration. A lush pine-tree frames the thatched-roof hut and echoes the rustic feeling conveyed by earlier

216 Reizei et al., 1996, p. 28.

images in the series and adds to the new-year auspicious atmosphere. Kōno analyzed these motifs as part of the transition towards Japanization, and suggested that the image records local customs.²¹⁷ This last point is particularly significant since it suggests that Japanization did not only refer to changes of style, but that the change also allowed artists to depict their own experiences. I propose, however, that this genre scene discloses influence from Chinese sources. For example, farmers celebrating after the harvest at the house of the village supervisor are mentioned in the poem “Seventh Month” from the classic *Book of Odes* (see 2.2.3.1.). It ends:

*In the tenth month we clear the threshing ground.
We set out a feast with a pair of wine jars,
We slaughter lambs and sheep
And go up to the ducal hall.
Raising our cups of rhinoceros horn,
May you live forever!*²¹⁸

Ma Hezi’s (馬和之) canonic illustrations to this poem also end with a feast scene (figure 33).²¹⁹ Like the Hori Family Model, the scene takes place in a rustic hall with a thatched roof and latticed windows. Inside, several men kneel around a set of dishes, their eyes are turned outside towards a group of musicians, a dancer, and men standing on the left whose hands are clasped in gratitude; two men on the right raise rhinoceros-horn-shaped cups. This scene focuses on a group of officials whose costumes differ from those of the barefoot farmers in the preceding illustration. It is not clear if the standing visitors are farmers who dressed up for their visit to the governor (or

217 Kōno proposed that the twenty-four scenes of the Hori Family Scroll are comprised of adaptations to the twenty-one scenes of the Song Zonglu model with three novel designs that are based on local customs and yamato-e scenes. (in: Reizei et al., 1996.p. 28).

218 Hammers, Roslyn Lee. 2002. *The Production of Good Government: Images of Agrarian Labor in Southern Song and Yuan China*, History of Art, University of Michigan. p. 342.

219 Fong Wen. 1992. *Beyond representation: Chinese painting and calligraphy, 8th-14th century*, Princeton monographs in art and archaeology; 48. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press., 1992. p. 218.

duke) to pay homage for their yield. Note that despite some differences, music, drink, and individuals of differing status are also included in the Hori Family Scroll, although on a much more modest scale. Although New Year's celebrations may refer to Japanese traditions, the depiction of feast cannot be considered completely new to the tradition of agrarian images.

3.2.2.1 *Illustrated Almanac for Popular Use* (便民圖纂)

A feast scene appears at the end of another important model of agricultural scenes—the Ming-dynasty printed book *Bianmin tuzuan* (便民圖纂, Illustrated Almanac for Popular Use, first edition 1502) (figure 34).²²⁰ Titled “country feast” (田家樂) this scene takes place inside a tiled-roof hall with flagstone flooring.²²¹ A group of men is seated around a plentiful meal, all making vivid gestures suggesting varying degrees of intoxication. A dancing figure in the foreground echoes the sleeve-dancer in the illustration to the “Seventh Month.” The *Illustrated Almanac* was published in 1502 (Hongzhi 15) or earlier, and was reprinted in various editions of changing quality throughout the sixteenth-century. Like other agricultural treatises, it was published by a high official, Kuang Fan (鄺璠, active 1502-1521), who stressed his attention to farmers. It is possible that a copy had already arrived in Japan at the end of the sixteenth-century due to Hideyoshi's plunder of Korea. The printed almanac was probably added to the Kano school collection of models like the printed book *Mirror of the Emperors*, which inspired

²²⁰ *Bianmin tuzuan* is also translated as “Illustrated Encyclopedia for Popular use” in addition to various variations on this title. See: Ruitenbeek, Klaas. 1993. *Carpentry and building in late imperial China: a study of the fifteenth-century carpenter's manual Lu Ban jing*, Sinica Leidensia. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill.p. 106. Ruitenbeek compares the *Bianmin tuzuan* to farming scenes in various Ming dynasty almanacs.

²²¹ The hall may represent architectural styles of Jiansu province. See Watabe Takeshi, 渡部武 1986. Studies about the Spread and Influences of “Pictures of Tilling and Weaving” 中国農書「耕織図」の琉伝とその影響について東海大学紀要. 文学部 *Proceedings of the Faculty of Letters of Tōkai University* 46:1-36. p. 14.

Tan'yū's wall paintings.²²² Specifically, Sansetsu probably based the last scene in the Hori Family Scroll on the *Illustrated Almanac*.

3.2.2.2 Collection of Painting (後素集, Jp: *Kōsoshū*)

In fact, a third type of “greeting” scenes was recorded by the Kano workshops in 1623, implying that Kano Sansetsu could have adapted his Japanization from a now-lost image in the Kano school collection. This model is mentioned in the *Kōsoshū*²²³ (後素集, Collection of Paintings), one of the first Japanese lexicons of Chinese art. It was compiled by Kano Ikkei (一溪, 1599-1662),²²⁴ to be used as a reference book by Kano painters.²²⁵ The first part of the compilation contains excerpts from Chinese theory books, while the second part contains a list of

222 For the book *Mirror of the Emperors* and its adaptation to wall paintings by Kano Tan'yū, see: Karen M. Gerhart. 1997. Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars: The Teikan Zusetsu Murals of Nagoya Castle. *Monumenta Nipponica* 52 (1):1-34. Existing copies of the *Bianmin tuzuan* support the supposition that the book might have arrived in Japan already in the sixteenth-century. The earliest existing copy of *Bianmin tuzuan* – from 1502 – is kept in the Diet library collection in Tokyo, and a later copy of lesser quality – from 1544 edition – is in the Beijing Library. Additionally, a fancy Wangli edition of 1593 is preserved in a private collection in Japan. (Watabe, 1986. p. 13; Wang, 1995. p. 66).

223 There is no decisive translation of this title, yet the term *kōso* in general refers to painting. *Kōso* first appears in the *Analects*, in reference to adding white minerals to a new canvas or to a completed picture. It was originally a part of a dialogue, which did not concern art. In this dialogue, Zixia is asking Confucius about a few verses from the *Book of Odes* (詩經), which describe the beauty of a princess whose face was well made-up in white. Confucius replies with the unclear phrase “絵事後素” and with a comment regarding the importance of inner virtues over external appearances. Zixia is taking Confucius's interpretation to be a metaphor for rituals. Generations of Confucian scholars studied and restudied this dialogue (see for example: Daniel K. Gardner 2003. *Zhu Xi's Reading of the Analects: canon, commentary, and the classical tradition*. New York; Chichester, [England]: Columbia University Press. p. 90-91). Regardless of the philosophical analysis of this dialogue, painters attributed special meaning to the phrase “after white,” and commonly interpreted it in two manners (1) Prior to the making of a painting, a white surface should be prepared. (2) To complete a painting, final touches of white powder are required. (JAANUS Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System. 2003. kousoshuu. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/k/kousoshuu.htm>. (Access date: September 2009); Quitman E. Phillips 1994. *Honchō gashi* and the Kano myth. *Archives of Asian Art* 47:46-57). The phrase “after the white/final white” appeared in Japan as early as the eleventh century in the introduction to an anthology of Chinese poems (本朝文粋, Jp. *Honchō Monzui*) (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2006). It was possibly used here metaphorically to imply a further intellectual polish.

224 Ikkei is sometimes referred to as Ikkei Shigeyoshi 重良 or Ikkei Naizen 内膳 (the latter name is after his father Ichio Naizen 一翁内膳, who was Kano Eitoku's brother).

225 Kendall Huber Brown. 1994. The politics of aesthetic reclusion: The Seven Sages and Four Graybeards in Momoyama painting, *History of Art*, Yale University. vol. 2, p. 6.

six hundred sixty-four painting themes, divided into twenty-six subjects.²²⁶ The division into categories begins with emperors, covers figural themes, such as men of letters, workers, virtuous women, beautiful women, Daoist and Buddhist immortals, and ends with a group of miscellaneous subjects. This division implies Confucian values, and may be based on the original Chinese sources that Ikkei undoubtedly used but failed to mention.²²⁷ A brief comment follows each of the paintings' titles, suggesting that the book was not only a guide for creating new images that was also used for authentication.²²⁸ Categories 13-15 of the list of subjects are of particular interest for our discussion of agricultural themes. Their titles are “farming men and weaving women” (田夫蚕婦),²²⁹ “the schedule for agriculture” (耕作の次第), and “the schedule for sericulture” (養蚕の次第).²³⁰ As with most of the listed themes, the category “farming men and weaving women” lists seven distinct moral tales featuring historic figures. “The schedule for agriculture” and “the schedule for sericulture,” on the other hand, refer to mutually linked

226 The full list was translated in Kendal Brown's dissertation (Brown, 1994. Vol. 2, p. 2-132). Accordingly, the first part of the compilation is theoretic, and the second section contains a list of painting themes. It includes excerpts from *Tuhui Baojian*, (圖繪寶鑑, Precious mirror for examining paintings, Jp. *Tokai hōkan*) completed c. 1365 by Xia Wenyan (夏文彦), and the list of painters from the *Kundaikan* (see 2.4.3.3). See also: Shimizu Yoshiaki, and Carolyn Wheelwright. 1976. *Japanese ink paintings from American Collections: the Muromachi period: an exhibition in honor of Shūjirō Shimada*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton University Press. p. 216).

227 Ikkei did not list his sources, unlike Hayashi Razan (林羅山, 1583-1657), whose compendium of Chinese painters—*Kōso-setsu* (後素説)—was compiled probably around the same time of Ikkei's work (Brown, 1994, vol. 2, p. 17).

228 Kitano Yoshie examined the inscriptions and seals in the existing twelve premodern copies of the *Kōsoshū*. Accordingly, the copies were collected not only by Kano disciples but also by art aficionados and *daimyō* houses. She thus argues that the explanations that follow each painting's title were meant to serve as a lexical entry for readers outside the art production cycles. Kitano Yoshie, 北野 良枝. 1997. Kano Ikkei *Kōsoshū no kōtei* 狩野一溪著『後素集』の校訂. *The Kajima Foundation for the Arts Annual Report* 鹿島美術財団年報. 15:352-357.

229 Or “rustics” in Brown's translation. See original text in: Sakazaki Shizuka, 坂崎坦. 1927. *Nihon garon taikan* 日本画論大観. 2 vols. Tokyo: Arusu ア-ルス. vol. 1, p. 698.

230 Brown, 1994. vol. 2, p. 74-75; Sakazaki, 1994. p. 698-700.

generic activities like the ones we saw in other models of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* and represent no particular period or historical figures.²³¹

Because Ikkei gleaned excerpts from theoretical Chinese manuals for the first section of his compendium, it would not be too far-fetched to suggest that his list of themes also relied on printed Chinese books, not merely on original paintings in Japanese collections.²³² Since Ikkei's father—Naizen (内膳 1570-1616)—worked for Hideyoshi, a position that would allow him access to thousands of Chinese and Korean books, it is plausible that he used these sources for his encyclopedic compilations.²³³ Ikkei's young age—merely twenty-five—when compiling the *Kōsoshū* supports the assumption that he was not summarizing a lifetime of experience recording and categorizing original paintings, but that he was relying on Chinese manuals and materials already categorized by earlier Kano artists.

Watabe argued that Ikkei based his lists of “agriculture” and “sericulture” on the *Bianmin tuzuan* (*Illustrated Almanac*).²³⁴ Nonetheless, several discrepancies between this *Illustrated Almanac* and the *Kōsoshū* do not fully support this hypothesis. For example, while the Chinese book displays fifteen illustrations, Ikkei lists seventeen. A few of the themes appear only in one of the sources. For instance, while Ikkei disregards the essential “scattering seeds” (sowing) scene from the *Bianmin tuzuan*,²³⁵ he does mention a rare “scattering ashes” scene.²³⁶

231 The only other painting theme, apart from *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, which does not refer to specific historical figures, is “fishermen and woodcutters.” See: Brown, 1994. p.11.

232 There is no scholarly agreement on Ikkei's sources (see Brown, 1994. vol 2, p. 14, fn. 11). I suspect, however, that Ikkei relied heavily on Ming painting-manuals and illustrated books which circulated in elite collections in Japan at the time.

233 For a more detailed biography, see Brown, 1994. p. 13-15, and Lippit, 2003. p. 418-422. Lippit mainly focuses on the circumstances that led to Ikkei's later compendium *Tansei Jakubokushū* (丹青若木集).

234 Watabe, 1986. p.23.

235 Ikkei might have misunderstood the agrarian process and misinterpreted the scene.

236 Ashes were used to ward off birds from the rice-paddies. Note also that Ikkei's list includes also a clapper (*naruko*). Clapper does not repeat in any of the Chinese models, but repeats in the *Tsukinami-e* screen

Additionally, Ikkei uses different titles for most of the agricultural illustrations he listed. The title “country feast” in the *Bianmin tuzuan* appears as “feasting and drinking: eating rice” (歡飲：食にして食する體也).²³⁷ Still, due to both the artist’s own mistakes and those of later copyists, the information in the *Kōsoshū* is not always reliable.²³⁸ I propose that the list in the *Kōsoshū* was based on a Chinese agricultural manual (農書, Jp. *nōsho*), not dissimilar from the *Illustrated Almanac*.

Given this background, it is interesting to note that Ikkei listed an additional reference to the *Pictures of Agriculture* under the category “painters” (interestingly, this category is listed after “*Rakan*” 羅漢 and before “virtuous women”). It reads, “Liang Kai paints *Pictures of Agriculture*” (梁楷耕作圖：梁楷かうさくの體を画く體).²³⁹ To the best of my knowledge, there is no other reference to this painting theme in either Chinese or Japanese sources. It is also noteworthy that there is no mention of the *Pictures of Sericulture*, and that the themes listed under Ikkei’s “schedule of agriculture” do not correspond with those in the scroll attributed to Liang Kai (figure 10). Due to the loss of historical materials and paintings from the early Kano production, it is difficult to understand this title as more than a disciple’s misunderstanding. Yet it may indicate the way narratives and myths were transmitted among painters and art connoisseurs - via simulacra rather than originals. The Kano school’s prestige would obviously increase due to such transmission, mystified by the aura and authority of Chinese masters.

(figure 35), and are associated with Japanese techniques (Kōno, 1991. p.33). This suggests that Ikkei was looking at images that already incorporated Japanese vignettes into the Chinese models.

237 Brown’s translation (Brown, 1994. vol. 2, p. 75). The simple *kanji* and the simple activity rule out that the misunderstanding was a result of misspelling of rare characters (which may have been the case with other titles in the list that refer to specialized agricultural activities such as husking and milling). For the Japanese see: Sakazaki, 1927. p. 699.

238 See Brown, 1994. vol. 2, p. 5. Mistakes can be attributed to Ikkei or to later copiers, publishers, and scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

239 Sakazaki, 1927. p. 719.

In conclusion to this section, I propose that the Kano artists relied on imported model books to a much larger extent than has been previously suggested. Ikkei probably categorized illustrations in Chinese books by their themes, perhaps as a mnemonic device to support authentication or commission. Perhaps the modest pedigree of printed books caused painters of later generations to attribute farming illustrations in printed books to canonized Chinese artists. This assumption may be particularly true in the case of agricultural manuals, since these were associated with farmers.

3.2.2.3 Agricultural Manuals and Artistic Reception

Discussing iconographic similarities, as I did above, is important because it adds to previous scholarship, and because iconographic analysis can contribute to our understanding of patronage and reception. Beyond iconographic analysis, the *Bianmin tuzuan* allows us further historical study, since the book includes a written introduction in addition to illustrations and poems that we find in other sources. While most of the visuals in the *Illustrated Almanac* derive from the iconographic tradition of the Song Dynasty (notably the styles of Lou Shu and Ma Hezi), the compiler, Kuang Fan – a sixteenth-century Hebei official who served in Henan – distances himself from these earlier traditions. He claims that his book better reflects the agricultural customs of the Jiangsu province where he worked, rather than the Zhengjian province, where Lou Shu served.²⁴⁰ He wrote:

Since the folk custom reflected in Lou [Shu]’s ‘Pictures of Farming and Weaving’ is a bit different from that in the south, and his poems are not easily understood by common folk, the author has made some changes in the pictures and substituted southern folk songs for

240 Watabe, 1986. p. 14.

*his poems. It is hoped that the common people may understand both the pictures and the songs and thus be inspired to follow the examples, devoting themselves to the work.*²⁴¹

The hope that uneducated readers would understand the songs and illustrations reflects Kuang's intention to direct his book to the actual farmers. Concurrently, his pedagogic tone – the wish to inspire the farmers to devote themselves to work – catered to policy makers and is probably related to the moral values Kuang Fan wished to disseminate.²⁴² Previous scholars accepted Kuang Fan's words, and judged the images as true reflections of the farmers' lives. For example, Watabe (after Amano Motonosuke) suggested that the feast scene indicates a rise in the farmers' status that took place gradually between the Yuan and the Ming dynasties.²⁴³ Comparing visual imagery, as we saw, suggests otherwise: the almanac's illustrations are based on earlier iconography dating back to the Song dynasty. Thus, contrary to Kuang Fan's claim that changes were made to reflect the customs of Southern China, we find once again that painters were interested in existing pictorial traditions and in means to increase their own authority, rather than in recording folk customs. Against this background, I contend that the “greetings” scene in the Hori Family Scroll was also inspired primarily by the Chinese traditions listed above, rather than by actual farming festivities. As with other *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*—artists reproduced models rather than recorded reality, and referred to intellectual, artistic, and ideological trends rather than to social and agricultural changes. Consequently I propose that Japanization did not result from a fresh look at the Japanese farmers, but rather from the wish to emphasize and construct a Japanese identity different from its Chinese roots.

241 Translated in: Wang, 1995. p. 66.

242 Wang, 1995. p. 67.

243 Watabe, 1986. p.14.

3.2.3 Yamato-e and the Hori Family Scroll

We have seen that the Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture* were based on Chinese illustrated manuals. Nonetheless, the eighth scene in the Hori Family Scroll depicts a conspicuously Japanese motif (figure 29): *dengaku* (田楽). *Dengaku*—literally, rice-paddy entertainment—refers to ritualistic dances and music performed by rice farmers. The image depicts the *taue* (田植), a *dengaku* of particular importance, which is still performed for the first transplanting of rice seedlings in the summer.²⁴⁴ In *taue*, villagers dance, play music, and make merry in order to invite the rice deity (田の神, Jp. *tanokami*) to descend from the mountains and generate the spirit that makes rice grow.²⁴⁵ The scene depicts three *dengaku* performers next to the conventional vignettes of “transplanting” and of a woman carrying food.

An inscription to the right states: “Rice planting (*taue*), first year of Tenshō (1573), 6 month, 21st day.”²⁴⁶ According to Kōno, the calligraphic style is typical of the medieval period, suggesting thus that the illustration and inscription commemorated an actual event. This claim is highly problematic: the first year of Tenshō began in the 7th month, so this date never appeared in the calendar.²⁴⁷ Moreover, Sansetsu—the alleged original painter according to the copier—was not born until 1589, and his father Sanraku was not even fourteen in 1573, too young for an

244 See: “Tanokami” In *Kōdansha encyclopedia of Japan*. 2002. Electronic version.

245 Reizei et al., 1996. p.28. The *taue* rituals attracted the attention of many scholars in different fields from anthropology to musicology. Much has been written about the diverse customs, and their unique Japanese character. Recent research, however, indicates similarities between rice-planting rituals in different Asian countries.

246 Reizei et al., 1996.p. 29.

247 The preceding era (Jp. *nengō*) ended on the 28th day of the 7th month of Genki 4, after the last Ashikaga shogun lost his position and Nobunaga became the de-facto head of state. The painter’s choice of this historical date calls for further study. Kōno refuses to accept this inscription as a forgery, and proposes that it is actually a copier’s mistake of an event that happened in the spring of 1575, when Sanraku was mature enough to initiate the painting project (instead of summer 1573 as stated). (Kōno, 1991.p. 52-68). I do not find his argument convincing. Yet, it is not completely impossible that due to the period’s upheavals different historians begin the year count of the Taishō era one-month later. (Karen Gerhart, personal communication).

apprentice painter to create a novel model.²⁴⁸ The inscriptions may therefore be a later mistake or even an intentional forgery.

At the same time, as I mentioned earlier, Tatara maintains that Sansetsu is the originator of the Hori Family Scroll, due to the many similarities with other works by this artist. This could imply that the inscription is a later addition that pretended to link the creation of the Japanized scroll with actual historical rituals. In other words, the scribe aimed to tie the birth of Japanese-style *Pictures of Agriculture* with “actual” local events. Why would Kano followers be interested in creating such a connection?

3.2.3.1 Agricultural Scenes and *Yamato-e*

Rice transplanting (Jp. *taue*) is recorded in Heian-period poetry and is consequently believed to represent recurring motifs in *yamato-e*.²⁴⁹ In fact, many early *waka* refer to the countryside and seasonal agricultural activities such as plowing and planting were used for seasonal allusions in poetry (季語・歳時, Jp. *kigo*, *saiji*), and in paintings (景物, Jp. *keibutsu*). Since paintings on walls and partitions were produced in relation to poetry, agricultural motifs were probably part of classical education in the court, and part of the visual vocabulary of the elite.²⁵⁰

248 Kōno suggested that the name Sansetsu was another copier’s mistake, and that the Hori Family Scroll was originated by Sanraku (Kōno, 1991.p. 62-63).

249 For an interesting and detailed discussion of the relations between *waka* poetry and *yamato-e* painting, see: Ienaga Saburō. 1979. *Japanese art: a cultural appreciation*, The Heibonsha survey of Japanese art; v. 30. New York: Weatherhill. See also: Sakomura Tomoko. 2007. *Pictured Words and Codified Seasons: Visualizations of Waka Poetry in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Japan*, Columbia University. Sakomura also relies on Ienaga Saburō’s conclusions.

250 The most common example is the restored wall paintings of the Byōdōin Temple (originally painted in 1053). The religious scenes make the focus of the paintings, but their background contains various rural scenes related to Heian period poetic traditions. These, however, do not include any images related to rice and silk production.

The earliest existing representation of rice transplanting motifs is a small screen of monthly activities (月次風俗図屏風, Jp. *tsukinami-fūzoku-zu-byōbu*) from late sixteenth century (figure 35). This eight-fold screen depicts seasonal rituals associated with various social classes, such as new-year games at court and samurai hunting in autumn. The screen was preserved in a private collection in Yamaguchi prefecture, and is assumed to be the work of a local painter who followed the style of the Tosa school.²⁵¹ Understood to be the *yamato-e* “missing link,” the screen attracted much scholarly attention both as ahistorical document of ancient rituals and as an example of medieval artistic styles. However, recent studies by art historian Ido Misato convincingly argue that the screen was commissioned by the Kikkawa (吉川) clan, warlords of the Iwa fief (旧岩国, now at Yamaguchi prefecture), and vassals of Hideyoshi. Ido indicates links between a local anthology of planting songs (titled: 田植草紙, Jp. *Tauesōshi*) to the farming scenes in the *tsukinami-e*. Consequently she establishes that the screen reflects local traditions of the Southern Honshu, and suggests that the *tsukinami-e* themes deviated from the *yamato-e* traditions of Kyoto.²⁵²

Panels four, five, and six (figures 35-36) are of particular importance to our understanding of *yamato-e* iconography of agricultural and sericultural motifs.²⁵³ Panels four and

251 The screen is now in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. For a summary of accepted notions about this screen, see for example: Shiga Prefectural Museum for Modern Art, 滋賀県立近代美術館. 1995. *Tsukinamie: jūnikagetsu no fūbutsushi* 月次絵:十二ヶ月の風物詩. Ōtsu: Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan.p. 189.

252 Ido Misato, 井戸美里. 2006. "Tsukinami fūzokuzu byōbu" no seiritsu to Kyōju ni kansuru kōsatsu: kyū Iwaguni-han kikkawa-ke denrai nitsuite『月次風俗図屏風』の成立と享受に関する一考察-旧岩国藩吉川家伝来について-. *Bungaku* 文学 7 (5):199-220; Ido Misato, 井戸美里. 2007. "Taue sōshi" no seiritsu haikai nitsuite "tsukinami fūzoku-zu byōbu" to no kakawari kara『田植草紙』の成立背景について—「月次風俗図屏風」との関わりから—. *Nihon Kayō kenkyū* 日本歌謡研究 47:115-129.

253 Sericulture is discussed in chapter four. It is noteworthy that the sixth panel depicts the *koromogae matsuri* (更衣祭, festival of clothes renewal). This festival is mentioned already in the eleventh century novel *The Tale of Genji*, and refers probably to the changing of attire from winter's to summer's clothes on the first day of the fourth month. In Kyoto, a special festival was held at the Kamo Shrine, and similar festivals were conducted in other places. Interestingly, the term was associated also with the women's quarters at court (see: “koromogae” In *Nihon*

five depict rice paddies from a bird's-eye view. To the left several rows of generic young peasant-women (早乙女, Jp. *saotome*), all wearing straw hats and colorful attire, are busily transplanting rice seedlings, brought to them by young peasant-men. In the upper center we witness a lively festival: musicians and masked dancers inspire the laborers and give the scene an auspicious and celebratory air. Ritual implements and food vessels are scattered near the dancers' feet. More food and drink, nicely arranged in lacquer boxes and teakettles, are being carried towards the field. Additional noteworthy motifs are: a clapping device to the top right (鳴子, Jp. *naruko*; the sound would scare away animals and birds from the seedlings), plowing with oxen, and hoeing. In short, the *tsukinami-e* screen displays ancient Chinese motifs, such as plowing, transplanting, and carrying food to the rice paddies; it also displays local rituals and devices such as the *dengaku* dancers and the *naruko* that are not recorded in earlier works.

Motifs of *dengaku* and plowing are repeated in several Muromachi-period handscrolls, which suggests that these were conventional *yamato-e* motifs. *The Illustrated Scroll of the Establishment of the Daisenji Temple* (大山寺縁起絵巻),²⁵⁴ dated to 1398, is one such early example; scholars today have only later copies because the original was burnt in 1928 (figure 37).²⁵⁵ Together with the hoeing scene in *Hōnen Shōnin Scroll* (1307-1317, figure 38) and the

Kokugo Daijiten, 2006). The panel shows women purchasing textiles in an urban shop. A motif of fighting children (similar to those in the *Ban Dainagon* scroll) suggests that the scene was created with the help of earlier models. I could not, however, locate earlier depictions of textile-shops. Still, I suspect that despite the uniqueness of this scene, it might have been part of a larger tradition of depicting textile shops, because these shops repeat in later works such as the *Tawarakasane* scroll and in eighteenth century prints.

²⁵⁴ Ienaga, 1979. p. 96.

²⁵⁵ The *dengaku* image is recorded only in the 1928 photographs (as the original was lost). Judging from the painting style, this might have been an Edo period copy (despite the inscription of 1398). Modern copies of the *Daisenji Engi Emaki* are preserved in the Tokyo National Museum collection (1831) and in the Historiographical Institute of the Tokyo University (1918), but these not include the *dengaku* scene I discuss here. For a discussion of the modern copies, see: Tokyo National Museum, 東京国立博物館, and Tokyo University Historiographical Institute 東京大学史料編纂所. 2001-2002. Voices from the past: historical sources and art treasures 時を超えて語

plowing vignette in the *Matsuzaki Tenji Scroll* (1311, 松崎天神縁起絵巻) (figure 39), this image is believed to be one of the oldest depictions of agrarian customs.²⁵⁶ We can suppose that the scroll was known to earlier Kano artists, perhaps also to Kano Sansetsu, two-hundred years earlier, as comparison of the motifs may suggest (figure 37).²⁵⁷ The Daisenji scene depicts the following agricultural motifs: ox-plowing, hoeing, rice planting (by women), and the carrying of seedlings. These are accompanied by two percussionists and a flute player dance before the planting women in the *dengaku* scene. The colorful clothes of all the participants give the scenes an additional air of festivity. The style and composition of this scene are not similar to the Hori Family Scroll (figure 29), but the separate vignettes suggest that both were modeled after a similar model, most probably a *yamato-e* painting.²⁵⁸ Lack of earlier examples impedes any attempt to suggest a clear lineage of the *taue* scene. Still, I would like to challenge the notion that the images documented peasants' customs, and propose instead that they were intended to record elite activities.²⁵⁹

るもの：史料と美術の名宝 Tokyo. p. 244. For a reproduction of the Daisenji scroll, see: Sasaki Kazuo 佐々木, 一雄. 1971. *Daisenji engi* 大山寺縁起. Yonago 米子: Inaba shobō 稲葉書房.

256 Note that the Matsuzaki version of the Tenjin scroll was also created in the Yamaguchi prefecture.

257 Interestingly, Kano Osanobu Seisen'in (狩野養信晴川院、1796-1846) mentions a copy of the Daisenji scroll in his diary, which indicates that a copy was used as a model by the Kobikichō (木挽町) atelier of the Kano school during the beginning of the nineteenth-century. (See: Sakakibara Satoru 榊原悟. 1997. Kano Seisen'in hitsu "shikikōsakuzu byōbu" nitsuite: goyōeshi no shigoto "狩野晴川院筆『四季耕作図屏風』について——御用絵師の仕事——. *Kenkyū kiyō* 研究紀要 (野村文華財団). 6: 58-81. p. 64). The copy of the scroll might have been in the hands of Edo-Kano already during Tan'yū's days.

258 It is assumed that individual agrarian motifs (i.e. motifs that are not part of the depiction of a full annual agrarian process) were accepted in *meisho-e* at least from the Heian period, because agrarian motifs repeat in many *byōbu-uta*. The *dengaku* scenes can thus be related to earlier *yamato-e* tradition that preceded the absorption of the scroll attributed to Liang Kai. (Matsumoto Naoko, personal communication).

259 This chapter was written before I became aware of Ido's study of the connection between the *Tsukinami-zu* screen and the Kikkawa family (Ido, 2006 and Ido, 2007). Following older studies, I mistakenly attributed the screen to Kyoto traditions and to the Tosa school. Nonetheless, my conclusions that the screen is associated with political dominance accords Ido's conclusion regarding the elite origin of *taue* anthologies and depictions of *taue* under the rule of the Kikkawa clan.

Additional motifs in the painted *taue* scenes call for closer historical examination. For example, it is important to consider that the use of iron plows harnessed to oxen was rare in the mountainous and destitute Japanese countryside prior to the nineteenth century.²⁶⁰ In fact, most evidence for the use of such plows in premodern Japan is derived from *Pictures of Agriculture* and from the analysis of contemporary festivals as recordings of past events.²⁶¹ Sanctified plows used for imperial rituals suggest that iron plows were known and used in Japan, however these may be linked to imported rites rather than local customs.²⁶² Further evidence tells that *dengaku* festivals were held at the Japanese court from the eleventh century onwards.²⁶³ In other words, paintings of agrarian rituals and tools do not necessarily indicate folk customs, but rather record the elite gaze on the farming communities. Thus, I am inclined to see the early depictions of *dengaku* in association with rituals that confirmed the political and religious dominance of the court and—after the Kamakura period—of military rulers. I therefore see the depiction of rice festivals as a political act, suggesting the reconfirmation of the rulers’ authority over the farmers. Coming back to the Hori Family Scroll with this understanding, we see that through inserting *dengaku* motifs to the Chinese models, Sansetsu also charged the theme with further political

260 Not all scholars agree that the use of plows drawn by oxen was rare. Here I rely on historian Erich Pauer’s reply to my email (May 2009). Accordingly, most farmers used hoes.

261 Popular sources and websites often link premodern depictions of *dengaku* with current photographs from the *Ōtaue* festival in Hiroshima prefecture, where decorated oxen play an important role.

262 For example, the Shōsōin preserves eighth century plows, which were probably used for imperial ceremonies. Dana Morris is the only scholar (in English) who has suggested that iron plows were used in agriculture during the ancient period. His theory may derive from the introduction of iron plows in Europe at the same time period. See: Dana Morris. 1988. Land and Society. In *The Cambridge history of Japan: Heian Japan (volume 2)*, edited by J. W. Hall. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 183-235.

263 According to Jacob Raz, from the eleventh century onwards *dengaku* became a form of entertainment that was not necessarily attached to villages or shrines. For example, forms of *dengaku* entertainment adjoined the *gōryo* annual summer festival in Kyoto (originally a ninth-century imperial procession to ward off epidemics), and the retired emperor Toba (鳥羽, 1103-1156) is recorded to sponsor many performances of *dengaku*. Not ignoring the many later developments of *dengaku* dance and music, Raz maintains that “Throughout the eleventh century there is considerable evidence indicating the interest in *dengaku* shown by the ruling class, either as a way of dominating rural culture or as pure entertainment.” Raz, Jacob. 1985. Popular Entertainment and Politics. *The Great Dengaku of 1096. Monumenta Nipponica* 40 (3):283-298. p. 284.

undertones. Sansetsu's successor – Kano Einō – wrote that the Kano school “add[ed] the *Yamato* [Japanese] to the *Han* [Chinese].”²⁶⁴ This phrase is conventionally interpreted as the amalgamation of the Chinese style of the Zhe school with the colorful style of the Tosa school, but we can interpret this phrase beyond the stylistic and associate it thus with political control. Namely, the appropriation of motifs and their amalgamation by the Kano also conveyed a political lesson. The Chinese air of sagity that was associated with the *kanga*, contributed to the affirmation of the new social order of the shogunate and its control over the farmers.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss further examples of Japanized agricultural scenes; these examples combine the motifs discussed above, yet depict the full agricultural process in a conspicuously Japanese style. While the images seem to focus on the farmers, their overall messages relay the political dominance of the feudal lords.

3.2.4 Scrolls of Abundant Harvest (*Tawarakasane Emaki*)

The *Tawarakasane emaki* (俵重絵巻, *Scrolls of Abundant Harvest*) depict the annual process of rice agriculture in the *yamato-e* style and with various indigenous details (figure 40-41, 46-48). Scholars agree that the three scrolls known today derive from Chinese models; still their styles and themes are much closer to *tsukinami-e*. Below, I look at their motifs and styles in more detail because they indicate, on the one hand, that Kano models in the early Edo period were open to considerable change and adaptation. On the other hand, stylistic changes and the new combination of Japanese and Chinese motifs suggest that the images' ideological messages were updated to support the changing governmental system.

264 Phillips, 1994. p. 47.

None of the existing scrolls is clearly dated. The best-known scroll is in the collection of the Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University (figure 40-41), and it is considered the oldest, dated to the first half of the seventeenth century. Since the samurai's clothes are made in the style of the sixteenth century, it was suggested that the scroll is a copy of an earlier model—possibly a scroll of the late Muromachi or the Momoyama period (late 16th c.).²⁶⁵ Still, the brush style of the scroll suggests a seventeenth-century work, perhaps as early as the Keichō (慶長, 1596-1615) or the Kan'ei (寛永, 1624-1644) eras.²⁶⁶ Additional scrolls that testify to similar origins are the Machida Municipal Museum scroll (figure 46), which was probably reproduced in the early eighteenth century, and a rather similar scroll in the Fukuoka Municipal Museum dated 1743 (figure 48).

The scrolls' dates are significant, due to the rapid social and economic changes promoted by the three unifiers at the end of the sixteenth century. After Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) caused the separation of samurai from farmers by confiscating the farmers' weapons in 1588, cadastral surveys were conducted and the registered rice yield became the basis for the state's taxation system and the source of cash income for the military elite. The following rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868) forcefully maintained the separation of social classes and the privileges of the samurai to collect rice. Yet, economic developments consistently destabilized the economic and social apparatus and resulted in growing unrest throughout the long reign of the Tokugawa shogunate. Examining the scrolls against this background suggests that rice production was not just a matter of artistic traditions, but a reflection of charged political and

265 Tokyo National Museum and Tokyo University Historiographical Institute 2001-2002, p. 228.

266 Katō Hideyuki 加藤 秀幸. 1993. Kenkyū hōkoku: "Tawarakasane kōsaku emaki" kō 研究報告『俵かさね耕作絵巻』考. *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo kenkyū kiyō* 東京大学史料編纂所研究紀要 3:82-105. Katō Hideyuki transcribed and compared the almost identical texts of the three scrolls of abundant harvest.

social discourse. Below I describe the three scrolls and point to changes in their iconography in order to indicate reflections of historical and political change.

3.2.4.1 *Tawarakasane*: The Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University

This scroll combines agricultural texts and images.²⁶⁷ Like the images, the text creates a loose yet entertaining and informative combination of historical, poetic, agrarian, and of folk traditions. It begins with a Confucian note:

When the policy of our emperor (大君)²⁶⁸ is just, when he blesses the country and feels for the people, and operates in such upright way, then if the wind blows for five days it does not disturb the branches, and if the rain pours for ten days, it does not damage the earthen levees, and there are no worries of draught, flood, or great wind. The people thrive thanks to the abundance of the five grains, doors are not locked, and the people do not have to beg [collect fallen things] on the roads.

When we compare this with the ancient past of far away Tang, it is similar to the reign of Tōgyō (唐堯, Ch. Tang Yao) and Gushun (虞舜, Ch. Yushun). If we inquire to such a state of affairs closer to our time, the Engi [901-923] and Tenryaki eras [947-957] weren't their reign superior to current affairs?

The people's lives were prosperous [literally: pots piled up with various grains],²⁶⁹ and every person took pride in the pleasures of the five [unclear].²⁷⁰ Consequently, taxes did not cease throughout the country, and all the houses enjoyed that time of flourishing, under a prosperous reign.²⁷¹

267 The scrolls make a rare case of agrarian paintings, which are accompanied by text. The full transliteration and annotation are brought in Machida Municipal Museum, 2000.

268 Note that this term can be translated also as *Daimyō*. I follow here Katō's interpretation that the scroll originated in aristocratic cycles in Kyoto, and thus selected to translate "emperor."

269 See "kamado" in: *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2006.

270 Katō transcribed 袴, while Kōno preferred 誇. Both characters are unclear in this context.

271 My translation. Based on Kōno Michiaki's transliteration and adaptation, in: Machida Municipal, 2000. p. 86.

This lament is rather conventional, and it is followed by descriptions of nature and agrarian rights. Current scholarship has focused mainly on the unusual images, and left many open questions as for the origin of depicted customs. For example, the opening images depict New Year's rituals: in the first section (figure 40), eight performers dressed as samurai circle an ox harnessed to a plow and a table with sacred cut paper (御幣, Jp. *gohei*); they are watched by two samurai seated at the gate of a manor house. The text explains:

*First, in the beginning of the spring, the ice to the east of the pond melts, buds of plum flower in the window, the auspicious singing of the bush warbler is heard in the valley, and layers of haze hang over the mountains. Five days before the first day of spring,²⁷² an earthen ox (土牛, Jp. *dogyū*)²⁷³ is created. It is harnessed to a plow (犁、Jp. *karasuki*), and the plowing farmers gather in front of emperor's gate (君の門前). At dawn they decorate a low pulpit, and place lanterns and offerings on a desk. The local official (郡奉行, Jp. *Ko'ori Bugyō*), agricultural officials (里さと代官, Jp. *Satozato no Daikan*), heads of various villages (村々庄屋, Jp. *Muramura shōya*) and others of lower ranks, come out wearing colorful and decorated clothes. They circulate the pulpit and face the ox, take a bamboo whip and beat three times, in order to encourage the spirit of agriculture. This is called the festival of the earthen ox.²⁷⁴*

The second ritual (figure 40) takes place in front of a bare rice paddy: three samurai bow to a table decorated with Shinto implements while several women—one is breast-feeding, another a nun—kneel behind them. Kōno notes that these were uncommon rituals in Japan's

272 *Risshun* begins on February 5th (according to the modern calendar).

273 The scroll depicts a real ox, but the word “*dogyū*” appeared in the *Shoku nihongi* in relation to a “voodoo doll” in a shape of an ox that the *onmyōji* priests would prepare at the night before the “great cold” (around the end of January) and place it before the palace's main gate. This was done to ward off plagues. (*Nihon kokugo daijiten*, 2006). Such explanation suggests that the depicted ceremony could have originated in imperial rituals. This leads me to suspect that the *Tawarakasane* scroll may be based on older imperial scrolls.

274 My translation. Based on Kōno Michiaki's transliteration (Machida Municipal Museum, 2000. p. 86).

early modern period; the text of the scroll also notes that these are originally Chinese rituals.²⁷⁵ An additional ritual takes place during the summer season (figure 41): a group of men in samurai attire dance, play drums, or make merry in front of a *torii* gate. They are observed by a seated group that appears to be a family of three-generations. These three genre scenes are believed to record agricultural rituals conducted by the *daimyō* family, although the text does not supply any information regarding the image. In fact, the texts and the images testify merely associative connections.

The following scenes focus on farming activities not dissimilar to earlier Kano paintings; the irrigation scenes in particular testify to the painter's acquaintance with Liang Kai model (cf. figure 41 top right and figure 12 middle right). The scroll ends with two unique scenes of contemporaneous nature: rice bails are carried on the backs of an ox and horses²⁷⁶ into a manor, and are placed in a storehouse under the supervision of a samurai. While this *Inserting to Storage* scene is generic, the interior scenes at the back are original. They depict two merchants calculating the yield; one is using an abacus (算盤 Jp. *soroban*), the other is writing numbers in a book (figure 42). The same merchant figures are repeated in the next scene—here they converse with three samurai and a younger boy. Food and tea are served in lacquered dishes, perhaps to mark the completion of a successful deal (figure 44).

There are several indications that a Kano artist was commissioned to produce this scroll in the early seventeenth century: Chinese models of agriculture were still monopolized by the Kano school, and the scroll is a rearrangement of such models along the Kano traditional

275 Machida Municipal Museum, 2000. p. 8-10.

276 Note the horse to the left is depicted from above (unlike the rest of the figures which are described from the side), and its unnaturally long and curved neck testifies to an unskilled hand which mismatches the rest of the scroll's graceful manner. This detail may indicate an unsuccessful attempt to combine different painting models. This horse figure is no doubt borrowed from another of the Kano models, because it is repeated in many other images of the Edo period (e.g. in Hanabusa Itchō images of grazing horses, in early woodblock prints).

guidelines. In addition, scattered pine trees recall Tan'yū's recurrent use of this motif. This adjoin vivid *yamato-e* motifs such as low green rocks bounded by a wavy outline, which characterize the works of the contemporaneous Sōtatsu school, as well as the works of Tosa Mitsunobu and Tan'yū. The farmhouse's thatched roof and the breakwater vignettes may suggest that, like Sōtatsu, the painter borrowed motifs from medieval handscrolls.²⁷⁷

While the coloring and motifs indicate the painter's control of *yamato-e* style, the agrarian process that determines the scroll's narrative is based on Chinese models. The painter calls our attention to the Japanese-Chinese combination through one of the painting's details: the folding screen decorating the guest room (figure 44). This is a Chinese-style monochrome landscape; flying geese and the tip of a pagoda suggest that the painting depicts the *Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang*.²⁷⁸ The painted geese are a sophisticated way of marking the autumn season and creating an interesting connection with the other seasonal marker: the rice harvest.²⁷⁹ The painter consciously refers here to the long tradition of painting-within-painting (画中画, Jp.

277 Sōtatsu's works combined selected vignettes from medieval scroll paintings from Kyoto collections, which were rearranged into novel compositions and style. His technique of reproduction resembles the practices of the Kano school, yet it was far less systematized and did not develop beyond the initiative of the individual artist and a limited number of followers.

278 Geese are conventionally depicted in two of the eight scenes of the *Xiao and Xiang*: "Geese descending to a Sandbar" (平沙落雁) and "Evening Bell from a Distant Temple" (煙寺晚鐘).

279 This unusual detail calls to mind the *Hikone Screen* (figure 45), in which a Japanese genre scene is juxtaposed with a Chinese landscape to create a sophisticated association. Lippit sees the *Hikone* screen as a reminiscent to a time when the old and the new were combined to create new meanings. His comment below helps us date the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest* to the early seventeenth-century, and suggests that the Sino-Japanese link here referred to cultural trends, and not only to formal fashions. He wrote: "[...] paintings of seemingly unrelated subject matter of the early Edo period, causing the most worldly images to reverberate with otherworldly meaning. Most importantly, the citations of preestablished iconographies are in each case mnemonic recitations of previous paintings. The images of all such entities were fixed in the cultural imagination visually through what was coming to be perceived as a classical tradition of Sino-Japanese ink painting. [...] the very possibility of nostalgia, playful variation, or suggestive citation through a dialectical engagement with a distinctly earlier painting tradition as demonstrated in the *Hikone Screen* was unimaginable before the seventeenth century. It is in this sense that the *Hikone Screen* serves as a legend for the discovery by Japanese painting of its own past, which affected all aspects of the production, reception, and conceptualization of this medium." (Lippit, 2003. p.12-13).

gachūga)²⁸⁰ and applies it to the novel fashion of Japanization. More importantly, the painter points to dialectics that extend beyond style, the dialectics of China and Japan, samurai and peasants, *kanga* and *yamato-e*, shogunate and court. I propose that these subtle dialectics are embedded in the overall process of Japanizing *Pictures of Agriculture*.

3.2.4.2 Tawarakasane: The Machida Municipal Museum Scroll

The Machida scroll's layout and text are similar to that of the Tokyo scroll and is considered a later adaptation of a similar model (figure 46). Likewise, the Machida scroll opens with a ritual of symbolic oxen plowing (*dogyū*) which takes place in front of a *daimyō*'s compound. Two men wearing court attire, possibly priests, join samurai figures. The following scene depicts a Shintō ritual, where samurai land owners and their families bow in front of unplowed paddy fields. Although these are not traditional *yamato-e* motifs, the artist framed them with moss-covered rocks, which are associated with the *Rimpa* style. Additional genre scenes are scattered among the agricultural activities and testify to various painting models that inspired the artist: an old man and a boy (after the Daisen'in)(figure 20), a waterwheel (Momoyama period screens) , and a boy resting on a buffalo (Chinese models). The fifth section portrays only women of various ages, all wearing colorful aprons over their cotton kimonos and separating grains, threshing, and husking. The following two scenes are dedicated to sericultural activities (discussed in chapter 4). The narrative continues on a second scroll with generic agricultural scenes (weeding, irrigating, husking), and the unique genre scenes we already saw in

280 Wu Hung suggested that a depiction of a painted screen within a painted composition points to a double or ambiguous identity of the sitters. See: Wu Hung. 1996. *The double screen: medium and representation in Chinese painting*. London: Reaktion Books. p. 9.

the Tokyo scroll: a cheerful festival to control the rainfall in front of a shrine's gate (Jp. *torii*), followed by the counting and storing of rice bails.

Unlike the earlier scroll, there is no trace of merchants. Still, the last scenes depict the *daimyō*'s retinue closely following the arrival and storing of the rice bails; one official is depicted taking notes, perhaps of the number of bails. This suggests that economic calculations were significant also to the patrons of Machida scroll, yet the monetary aspect of rice was expressed in a subtler manner in comparison to the earlier scroll, due perhaps to the increasing tensions between the merchants and *daimyō* at the time,.

3.2.4.3 Economic Criticism

The presence of merchants and the representation of rice and silk as commodities distinguish the *Tawarakasane Scrolls* from other screen paintings, which seem to focus on seasonal landscapes and activities, while ignoring contemporaneous urbanization and the growing role of merchants in the rice and silk economies.

The merchants' rise is criticized by the Neo-Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666-1727, 荻生 徂徠). He wrote in 1720:

In olden days, the countryside had hardly any money and all the purchase was made with rice or barley but not with money. This is what I experienced while living in the countryside. However, I have heard that from the Genroku period [1688-1703] on, money economy has spread to the countryside, and they now use money to purchase things [...]. Nowadays, samurai are forced to live in castle towns in discharge of their duties. Living away from home, in a manner similar to travelers seeking lodging, requires cash for sustenance. They must sell rice for cash, and purchase their daily needs from merchants. In this way, merchants become masters while samurai are relegated to the position of customers, unable to determine prices fixed on different commodities. In olden days when samurai lived on their own lands, they had no need to sell their rice. Merchants came to

*buy rice, and under such circumstances, samurai remained masters and the merchants their customers. Prices of different commodities were dictated by the samurai class. This is the law that was established by the ancient sage [Confucius] in his infinite wisdom. It must remain inviolable through the ages.*²⁸¹

Sorai described the seventeenth century (prior to the economic and cultural upsurge of the merchant class) as a time when the samurai enjoyed economic independence; it was the merchants who “came to buy rice” and “samurai remained masters”— an antithesis to the prevailing state of affairs in the eighteenth century. Against this background, Sorai’s economic description perfectly accords the final scene of the Tokyo Hitoriographical Institute scroll (figure 40-44), which depicts the merchants as dependent on the rice stock of the samurai.²⁸² Sorai’s lament of the samurai’s declining authority and of the rise of the merchant class in later years can also explain why the merchants’ figures were eliminated from the eighteenth-century copies of the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest*. Consequently, I propose that changes in intellectual trends, rather than in technology or life-style, influenced the transmission of painting styles and the alteration of individual motifs.

Assuming the scrolls were used as textbooks for children, as I will suggest in the next section, further emphasizes that ideological messages played an important part in the images’ reproduction.

281 In *Seidan* (政談, Political Proposals), quoted in: Liah Greenfeld. 2001. *The spirit of capitalism: nationalism and economic growth*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. p. 258

282 Sorai denies the use of cash prior to the Genroku era, but the depiction of the *soroban* suggests calculations of trade value.

3.2.4.4 The scroll as a Children's Textbook

Several elements in the three *Scrolls of Abundant Harvest* have led scholars to suggest that it was used as a textbook in the houses of the samurai and aristocracy.²⁸³ First, the unusually large number of illustrated children, women, and animals suggests that the scrolls were intended to entertain a young audience. Second, the simple style of narration and pedagogic messages suggests a story read aloud for children. For example, the Fukuoka scroll contains the sentence “[May] the rice-bails that are carried into the lord’s storehouse [君の御蔵に運び入る] be limitless. Pile up, pile up, cheerfully accumulating.”²⁸⁴ This sentence also suggests that the scroll was targeted at the owners of the fields. It is thus suggested that the original painter of the *Abundant Harvest* model was involved in children’s education, such as a middle-rank aristocrat or a monk, or a professional city painter (町絵師, Jp. *machieshi*). The former options are supported by the calligraphy of the texts because they were inscribed with skill and aesthetic conscientiousness that also attest to the hand of an aristocrat or priest.²⁸⁵

Assuming that the scrolls were used for the edification of children, Kōno and Katō linked the scrolls to the tradition of *pictures of admonition by means of paragon* (Jp. *kankai-zu*; see chapter 2.2.2.1). Looking at the images, the young audience learnt how rice and silk were produced, and saw how hard peasants labored and were exposed to various religious beliefs,

283 Katō Hideyuki suggested that the Tokyo model was commissioned for samurai youth, because the inscription contains a large number of Chinese characters and does not contain sericultural scenes. In comparison with the later scrolls, it is suggested that they were commissioned for younger audience of the aristocracy. In: Reizei et al., 1996. p.79.

284 In: Katō, 1993. p. 105.

285 Machida Municipal Museum, 1993. p. 102. This raises questions regarding the commission of artworks for children, which requires a further study. Artworks for children are sometimes recognized by their small dimensions (which is not the case here), by simpler forms of writing (which is the case here), and by choice of delicate or pedagogical explanations. It is not clear if certain painters specialized in producing images especially for young audience (for example, for children’s education and for auspicious events in the life of a child), and it seems that, as with works for adults, commissions were primarily a matter of finances and social prestige and connections.

historical tales, and natural phenomena. Following the Chinese imperial examples such notions were to make the readers into benevolent rulers.

Katō Hideyuki further links the *Tawarakasane* theme with the education of children of high samurai class. Accordingly, a entry from the diary of courtier Koga Michie (久我通兄, 1709-1761) from 1743 states that the imperial palace sent various albums and scrolls to Shogun Yoshimune's (1684-1751, 吉宗) family; among them was "a scroll of *Pictures of Agriculture*." The scroll was probably aimed at Yoshimune's seven-year-old grandson (later, the tenth shogun Ieharu, 家治, 1737-1786).²⁸⁶ Katō suggests that this commission is the scroll currently at the Fukuoka Museum (figure 48).²⁸⁷ Kōno, however, maintains that one would expect an imperial work to start with the ancient *Kojiki* or *Nihon-shoki* myths instead of referring to Chinese traditions.²⁸⁸

Koga's diary attributes this scroll with *Pictures of Agriculture* to Tsurusawa Tangei (鶴沢探鯨, 1687-1769), a Kyoto painter of the Tsurusawa school.²⁸⁹ It is most likely that Tangei based his work on models in the Kano collection, since his father, Tsurusawa Tanzan (鶴沢探山, 1658-1729), was Tan'yū's disciple.²⁹⁰ This supports the supposition that the painters of the earlier versions of scrolls of *Tawarakasane* were of the Kano lineage. Still, there is no record of Tan'yū or Tanzan producing *yamato-e* style *Pictures of Agriculture* like the scroll in question.²⁹¹

286 For the details of the gift-exchange and for the various other items which were sent on this occasion, see: Katō, 1993. p. 89-90.

287 Katō, 1993. p. 89-90.

288 In: Machida Municipal Museum, 2000. p.82.

289 On Tsurusaga Tangei, see: Tsukuba University 筑波大学. *Japan Arts Thesaurus Database* 日本美術シソーラス・データベース 2005. Available from <http://www.tulips.tsukuba.ac.jp/jart/mokuji/2tzwtg001.html> (accessed spring 2010)

290 Tanzan was the teacher of Tachibana Morikuni and Ōoka Shunboku (whose printed version of Kano models is discussed in 5.4.3).

291 Tan'yū produced several screens with *Pictures of Agriculture*, all of them in Chinese style. He also recorded *Pictures of Sericulture* in his copybook, and these are also in Chinese style. Yet, the scroll commissioned

With this background, it is important to note that the Japanization of the *Pictures of Agriculture* seems to be linked to Kyoto artistic cycles. Kano Sansetsu, head of the Kyoto Kano School was, based on the Hori version, the originator of this style. He was followed by his heir Kano Einō. Additionally, we see that Tsurusawa Tangei of Kyoto also received commissions for Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture*. I assume that the Japanized style might have been more in demand in Kyoto because of that city's imperial traditions and aristocratic community.²⁹² Yet it is worth noting that other Japanized traditions of *Pictures of Agriculture* developed throughout Japan, particularly beginning in the eighteenth century. Interestingly, Japanized artworks were mainly produced and reproduced outside of Edo.

In fact, the Japanization of the *Pictures of Agriculture* is conventionally attributed to Kusumi Morikage (久隅守景, 17th c.). Like Tangei's father, Morikage studied with Tan'yū but later left Edo and developed his own style. Morikage flourished as the official painter of the *daimyō* of the Kaga domain (present-day Ishikawa and Toyama prefectures), and produced at least twelve folding screens with *Pictures of Agriculture* in both Chinese and Japanese styles along with numerous paintings of rural motifs. These screens have received great scholarly attention, and thus I will not examine them here in further detail.²⁹³ It is important, however, to

from Tangei was probably of *yamato-e* style because the other artworks on Koga's list testify to a strong *yamato-e* inclination (for example, it included "one scroll of famous places" by Tosa Mitsuyoshi (光芳) and several collections of waka). For the list of gifts, see: Katō, 1993.p.89-90. For Tan'yū's copies of *Pictures of Sericulture*, see: Watabe Takeshi 渡部武. 1988. 「探幽縮図」中の「耕織図」と高野山遍照尊院所蔵の「織図」について: 中国農書「耕織図」の流伝とその影響について(補遺一) [On "Pictures of Tilling and Weaving" in Small Sketches by Kano Tan'yu and "Pictures of Weaving" in Koyasan Henjyoson'in]. *Proceedings of the Faculty of Letters of Tokai University* 東海大学紀要 50:19-27.

292 Because, generally speaking, the *yamato-e* style came to be associated with the heyday of the Japanese court, and the Chinese style was associated with the shogunate.

293 For a comprehensive recent study about Morikage in Japanese, see: Matsushima Masato 松嶋雅人. 2007. Kusumi Morikage no sakuin 守景の作品. *Nihon no Bijutsu* 日本の美術 489: 34-78. For English discussion of Morikage's screens, see: Goodall, Hollis. 1998. Work. In *Edo, art in Japan 1615-1868*, edited by R. T. Singer, J. T. Carpenter and National Gallery of Art (U.S.). Washington: National Gallery of Art; Katz, Janice. 2004. Collecting and patronage of art in seventeenth century Japan: the Maeda daimyo, Art History, Princeton University.

mention that previous scholarship had linked Morikage's settling in the rural area with his Japanized style. It had been long claimed that Morikage was so moved by life in the countryside that he abandoned Chinese models for actual scenes he witnessed in the life of the farmers. Nonetheless, a recent study by Sakakibara Satoru demonstrated that Morikage switched back and forth between Chinese and Japanese styles.²⁹⁴ Against this background, I propose that for his novel designs Morikage relied heavily on Chinese printed books, which he could access through the Kaga *daimyō*'s rich library of imported books.²⁹⁵ His Japanization thus developed as a result of his intellectual explorations and possibly in reply to the demands of his patrons, rather than from an attempt to draw realistically from nature. Again, I propose that in order to understand the painter's stylistic moves, we need to look at changes in the ideology of art commissioners rather than at the Japanese rice-farmers.

3.2.5 Kano Einō (狩野永納) and Japanization

The history of Japanese art in general, and of the Kano school in particular, favors an interpretation that sees the development of "Japanese art" as a process of indigenizing imported styles. Kano Einō's statement that the Kano school mixed the *yamato* style with the Chinese style is a quote often repeated in discussion of Japanese art history. Below I suggest examining the question of mixing styles also through the prism of Einō's *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.

294 Summarized in: Matsushima, 2007. p. 72. While earlier studies seem to take for granted the assumption that Morikage switched from Chinese to Japanese style, Sakakibara based his study on dating the screens by examinations their seals.

295 For a study of the foreign book in the Maeda library, see: Katz, 2004. Kōno noted that some of the new agrarian motifs in Morikage's work were drawn from the Chinese encyclopedia *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪. In: Reizei et al., 1996. p. 57). See also 4.6.1 below.

Son of Sansetsu and grandson of Sanraku, Einō inherited the leadership of the Kyōto-Kano school. As a well-educated leading artist with access to a wide variety of art collections, Einō produced a large corpus of paintings in varied styles as well as historical and lexical writings.²⁹⁶ A less well-known work signed by Einō is a reprinted book of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.

3.2.5.1 Einō's Copy of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*

In 1676 Kano Einō copied and reprinted the pictures and texts of a book titled *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* by the little known Ming-dynasty painter Song Zonglu (宋宗魯 1457-1464) (figures 49-50, 52-54).²⁹⁷ Several copies survive intact in libraries around the world and comprise an essential link in our understanding of the dissemination of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.²⁹⁸

The Song Zonglu model follows the Song-dynasty tradition of presenting twenty-one scenes of agriculture and twenty-four scenes of sericulture accompanied by Lou Shu's poems. The compositions are similar to Song-Yuan-dynasty models.²⁹⁹ The Einō book resembles the Cheng Qi painted model at the Freer Gallery (discussed in Chapter 1) apart from the background landscape elements, such as stylized clouds, gnarled trees, and rocks. These elements somewhat

296 Hyōgo Prefecture Historical Museum 兵庫県立歴史博物館. 1999. *Kano Einō: tokubetsuten* 狩野永納: 特別展. Himeji: Hyōgo Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan.

297 Watabe, 1986. p. 12-15.

298 One of the Einō book is in the National Diet Library and is available online <http://www.ndl.go.jp/nature/thum/002.html> (accessed April 2010). Another copy was purchased by Laufer in Tokyo in 1907, and was described as a Song dynasty copy (Laufer, 1912. p. 7-15). It was later presented to Otto Franke, and possibly contributed to the momentum behind the latter's monumental study of *gengzhitu* (Franke, 1913).

299 The Yuan dynasty models were discussed in the first chapter. These are: the Cheng Qi copy at the Freer Gallery (<http://www.asia.si.edu/SongYuan/F1954.21/F1954.21.asp> accessed April 2010), the Metropolitan Museum scroll, and Pelliot's reproduction of stone rubbings that were allegedly taken from Yuan dynasty stelae at the imperial court. (Paul Pelliot. A propos du Keng tche t'ou (geng zhi t'u). *Memoires concernant l'asie orientale*. Tome I (1913): 65-122).

shift the message of the pictures from agricultural labor to genre scenes and are perhaps a later Edo interpolation. Einō's copy opens with two introductions: one in Chinese in clerical script and the other in official script. (*kundoku* reading signs were added to the latter). The text retells the story of Lou Shu's work, and detail how, in 1462 (reign of Emperor Ying Zong), Song Zonglu of Jiangxi province reprinted a surviving Song edition of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. Watabe concluded that Song Zonglu's model was one piece of a successive reprint of a Song-dynasty woodblock book by the prefect of Shaoxing Wang Gang (汪綱, late Song dynasty), which was first reprinted by Lou Shao (樓杓) in 1237.³⁰⁰ Even though Lou Shu's story or poems were not reproduced in any of the later Japanese artworks, Einō reproduced them from Song Zonglu's book. This suggests the importance he ascribed to historical narratives, perhaps because they draw a direct link to Chinese imperial traditions.

Einō apologizes in a postscript that his reprint was based on a damaged book and thus some of the final sericultural poems and scenes are lacking.³⁰¹ Einō additionally remarks in the postscript that his copy was made in response to a demand within the Kano school for a model-book of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. This may indicate that the Liang Kai model was unknown to the Kyoto-Kano painters, and that the Song Zonglu book was reproduced as part of the competition with the Edo-Kano branches.³⁰²

300 Comparing styles and postscripts Watabe suggested that the original work of Lou Shu was transferred to the palace where it inspired paintings such as *Song Figures* (now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei). A different adaptation was created from the copy of Lou Shu's scrolls and it was republished by Wang Gang (1224-1237), and later by Lou's grandchild Lou Shao in 1237. Lou Shao's work inspired the copies of Cheng Qi and Song Zonglu. Namely, Cheng Qi and Song Zonglu show similarities not necessarily because they are faithful to the Lou Shu's scrolls, but because they relied on a similar printed model that dates almost a century later (Watabe, 1986. p. 6-7. Watabe is quoted in: Francesca Bray. 2007. *Agricultural Illustrations: Blueprint or Icon?* In *Graphics and text in the production of technical knowledge in China: the warp and the weft*, edited by F. Bray, V. Dorofeeva-Lichtmann and G. Mâetailie. Leiden ; Boston: Brill. p. 527).

301 Watabe, 1986. p. 23.

302 Watabe, 1986. p. 24. This theory suggests that Tan'yū took the Liang Kai model book with him when he moved to Edo in 1621, leaving the Kyoto-Kano school painters to rely on printed manuals.

Einō adapted Song Zonglu's motifs into a Japanese-style pair of folding screens of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* (figure 51).³⁰³ In addition, Einō's illustrations to the Scroll of the *Establishment of the Sugao Temple* (菅生寺), also include a harvesting scene that suggests links to the copied Chinese book (figure 55). What does the fact that Einō practiced "Japanization" add to our understanding of Kano school historiography?

3.2.5.2 The *Honchō Gashi* and Japanization

Honchō Gashi (本朝画史, History of Japanese Paintings, first published 1693) was the early modern period's most comprehensive theoretical treatise about Japanese art. The book was completed by Kano Einō in 1678, two years after he published the copy of Song Zonglu's *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. While earlier Japanese art treatises were concerned with Chinese theories and artworks or focused on biographies, the *History of Japanese Paintings* also includes the development of painting in Japan. The treatise is still considered a trustworthy authority by Japanese art historians, although scholars have pointed out various biases in its historical narrative.

The section in question is part of the chapter "development of paintings" (画運, Jp. *gaun*). It explains how "in ancient times" Japanese painters practiced various Chinese painting techniques. Later, they became divided into three houses: the Tosa, the Sesshū, and the Kano. The Tosa specialized in *yamato-e*, the disciples of Sesshū in Chinese court brush styles, and the

303 Tatara reached this conclusion after a meticulous comparison. See: Tatara Takiko 多田羅多起子. 2006. On Kano Einou's Folding Screen Painting of Cultivation and Sericulture 狩野永納筆<耕作・養蚕図屏風>について [in Japanese]. *Journal of the Japan Society of Design デザイン理論* 49:49-62, 94. This folding screen was preserved intact in a private collection, and I am grateful to Dr. Tatara for sharing her images.

Kano house combined the Chinese style and the Yamato style.³⁰⁴ Quitman Phillips demonstrated that this claim is ahistorical and inaccurate, and that it served to consolidate the place of the Kano school within the bureaucracy of the rising Tokugawa shogunate.³⁰⁵ Phillips wrote: “the Kano myth—the story of the combining of Japanese painting and Chinese painting by Kano Motobobu—plays a large role in its historical construction.”³⁰⁶ Karen Gerhart indicated that competitions between painting schools led to the emphasis of lineage and training in Kano theoretical writings.³⁰⁷ More recently, the text was analyzed in particular detail by Yukio Lippit for its role in the historiography of early modern Japanese art. Lippit detailed how this dialectic was based on former theoretical constructions, and argued convincingly that it transformed the Kano house into a national lineage.³⁰⁸

As we saw in the “development of paintings,” Einō discussed painting styles by referring to brushstrokes and mentioning famous historic names. Moreover, an important part of the *Honchō gashi* is the listing of famous Chinese and Japanese painters. Such a narrative, I argue, ignores, perhaps even denies, the significant role played by imported printed books by town professionals in the repertoire of the Kano artists. Thus, in addition to what Phillips calls “the Kano myth”—namely, that Kano combined “*yamato-e*” and “*kanga*”—I propose that Kano

304 狩野派は漢而兼倭者也 (In: Kasai Masaaki 笠井昌昭, Sasaki Susumu 佐々木進, and Takei Akio 竹居秋男. 1985. *Yakuchū honchō gashi* 訳注: 本朝画史 [*The annotated History of Japanese Paintings*]. Kyoto: Dhōosha Shuppan. p.15). Phillips translated: “the Kano added the Yamato to the Han.” (Phillips, 1994. p.47), while Lippit’s translation stresses that “the Kano combined these two types of painting” (Lippit, 2003. p. 529). Namely, the school used an amalgamation of the different stylistic characteristics of the earlier school. For the full text, see: Masaaki, Sasaki, and Takei, 1985. p. 14-17.

305 In his dissertation, Phillips offers a very detailed analysis and also touches upon the painterly meaning of the above claims, see: Quitman Eugene Phillips. 1992. Kano Motonobu and early Kano narrative painting, History of Art, University of California, Berkeley. p. 20-30.

306 Phillips 1994. p. 47.

307 Gerhart, 2003. p.9-30

308 See in particular the discussion in: Lippit, 2003. p. 528-534.

artists also cultivated the myth that they reworked classical Chinese paintings.³⁰⁹ Such a myth could support the Kano prestige as authentic followers of Song-Yuan masters—as distinguishing their art from those of professional artisans.

Einō's actual artworks demonstrate his skilled practice and interest in reworking and Japanizing model books. As cheap reproductions, the model books might not enter the prestigious lists of Song-Yuan paintings appropriate for the taste of an elite Japanese audience.³¹⁰ Thus, the listing of themes in Kano treatises and their later Japanization served as a means of introducing and maintaining book illustrations as subjects worthy of patrons' attention.

In the next chapters, I will argue that *ukiyo-e* painters used similar methods of reproduction to rework *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* into popular imagery.

3.2.6 Early Modern *yamato-e* and *Pictures of Agriculture*

Relying solely on the information above, one might form the impression that Japanese *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were only associated with the Kano school during the early Edo period. Nevertheless, certain motifs in the works of the painter Tawaraya Sōtatsu (fl. ca. 1600-1640) and the calligrapher Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (烏丸光広, 1579-1638), whose works are conspicuously identified with courtly tastes, suggest a more complex picture. The work I survey below suggests that artists working in the Japanese style may have used models of *Pictures of Agriculture* for inspiration. Such inspiration might be the result of sketching from memory a

309 The canonization of Chinese Song-Yuan dynasty images into classic Japanese art is evident in the *Kundaikan*, as this compendium records the status and display of these paintings in the shogunal spaces. The transmittance of the Ashikaga Song-Yuan collection into the model books of the Kano school and their later canonization is thoroughly analyzed in: Lippit, 2003, p. 184-289.

310 The patrons of the Kano school probably preferred models related to the Chinese imperial court in order to built up on their pedigree, as in the case of *Mirror of the Emperor* and the “Liang Kai” Scroll. Consequently popular Chinese themes were reframed and categorized according to the market's demands.

Japanized version, but – as in the case of Sōtatsu – can be linked also to adapting a Chinese manual.³¹¹ Marginal as this example may seem, I think it merits more than a footnote because it further challenges the “Kano myth” - that distinguishes the *kanga*, *yamato*, and Kano schools - and suggests more interaction between Kyoto’s seventeenth-century artistic circles.³¹²

3.2.6.1 Karasumaru Mitsuhiro’s *Illustrated Scroll of the Countryside*

The courtier and special emissary to the shogun Karasumaru Mitsuhiro (烏丸光広, 1579-1638)³¹³ is renowned for his uniquely abstract calligraphic style. His lyrical brushstrokes, talent and erudition in calligraphy and *waka* poetry, and cooperation with the painter Tawaraya Sōtatsu (fl. ca. 1600-1640) associated him with the classic *yamato* intertwining of textual allusions and painterly images.³¹⁴ Within this background it is interesting to see his adaptation of a Kano model, which bestows “Japanese” qualities such as lyricism, minimalism, and sentimental inclination to the countryside - to the originally Chinese technical imagery.

311 Many of Sōtatsu’s figures were derived from the printed book *Xianfoqizong* (仙仏奇踪, Miraculous traces of Daoist and Buddhist figures, Jp. *Senbutsusōki*). This collection of eccentric religious figures demonstrates that using printed Chinese books was not a taboo for Rimpa artists despite their strong inclination to the so-called *yamato* style. See: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 町田市立国際版画美術館. 1990. *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, edehon ten: meiga o unda hanga* 近代日本絵画と画譜・絵手本展: 名画を生んだ版画. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan. p. 72-74,

312 Sōtatsu’s and Mitsuhiro’s artistic activities should also be seen in light of Butler’s conclusion that Kyoto cultural circles until 1640 gathered along similar cultural pursuits rather than class. See: Lee Butler. 2002. *Emperor and aristocracy in Japan, 1467-1680: resilience and renewal*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center : Distributed by Harvard University Press.p. 267.

313 Edward Putzar. 1960. Chikusai Monogatari. A Partial Translation. *Monumenta Nipponica* 16 (1/2):161-162.

314 For a critical discussion of “classical” *yamato* style, see: Nakamachi Keiko. 2004. The Patrons of Tawaraya Sōtatsu and Ogata Kōrin. In *Critical perspectives on classicism in Japanese painting, 1600-1700*, edited by E. Lillehoj. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 77-97. Nakamachi demonstrates that what came to be perceived as “typically Japanese” was not necessarily patronized by the court.

Opening with the words *Houses by the Fields* (寄田家)³¹⁵ the scroll displays Mitsuhiro's characteristic style of free and streaming calligraphy (figure 56). The cursive calligraphy continues along several sheets of elegantly decorated paper. Sketchy and minimalistic illustrations of farmers at work intermingle with the calligraphy.³¹⁶ The text of *Houses by the Fields* suggests a firsthand impression of a traveling samurai observing customs, sounds, and sights of seasonal changes outside the capital.³¹⁷ With this background it is surprising to find evidence that Mitsuhiro probably rearranged scenes from a model of *Pictures of Agriculture* to create his poetic calligraphy and images. For example, Mitsuhiro's words refer to planting and transplanting, and to an early summer rain ritual; the images depict several men hoeing, a woman and child carrying food to the field, figures weeding, fields before the harvest, harvesting, milling, and stored rice bails (figure 56) – all are generic in *Pictures of Agriculture*. Still, nothing in the “impressionistic” and minimalistic style of the illustrations is reminiscent of the technological accuracy of the Chinese manuals or the Japanese encyclopedia, nor of the gaiety of the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest*. Still, the fact that the scroll reproduces an annual agricultural process, and repeats vignettes that are particular to the Chinese models such as the storing of rice, suggests that Mitsuhiro had consulted *Pictures of Agriculture* to create this work.³¹⁸

315 The scroll is displayed in the online collection of the Tokyo National Museum, but to the best of my knowledge it was not researched. The online details are as follows: *Inaka emaki* (田舎絵巻, Countryside scroll), 28.2x506.0 cm, ink on paper, catalogue number: c0013570-c0013579.

316 The style of images and calligraphy are quite similar to ones presented in Mitsuhiro's *Memoirs of an Eastern Journey* (1630, Spencer Museum). For Karasumaru's *Memoirs*, see: Itabashi Ward Museum 板橋区立美術館. 1982. *Karasumaru Mitsuhiro to Tawaraya Sōtatsu* 烏丸光広と俵屋宗達. Tokyo: Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan. n.p. Mitsuhiro's illustrated travel diary is probably inspired by the travel poetry of priest Saigyō's (西行, 1118-1190) and may have inspired Yosa Buson's illustrations to Bashō's travel diary more than a century later.

317 I am very grateful to Sachie Kobayashi of the University of Pittsburgh's Asian Library for her help with deciphering the calligraphy.

318 Due to Mitsuhiro's distinct personal style, it is impossible to indicate the particular work that inspired him. I conjecture that Mitsuhiro probably consulted a copy of the *Scrolls of Abundant Harvest* discussed above, because of his references to annual rituals. Mitsuhiro, however, also had access to Chinese *Paintings of Agriculture* because he was in close relations with the house of Tokugawa Ieyasu. He might have even seen a copy of the Liang

Despite the stylistic and historical differences, the ideological message of Mitsuhiro's scroll is not completely dissimilar to the Kano school Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture*; all Japanized images refer to the countryside in an idealized manner that denies the economic subjugation of the farmers. The illustrations and texts convey a preference for the rustic and simple, a sensitivity to the seasons, and a yearning for the imagined social harmony of the farmers' lives. Below I suggest that the association of these characteristics—the rusticity, seasonality, and harmony—with rice farming is derived from profound cultural constructs. I argue that the *Pictures of Agriculture* conveyed similar myths by portraying rice agriculture as “natural,” “seasonal,” and “harmonious,” and thereby detaching the theme from its economic and political overtones.³¹⁹ These premodern cultural constructs linger in modern Japanese culture due to the influence of early modern and modern intellectuals who emphasized the centrality of rice farming to the Japanese national identity. I suggest that *Pictures of Agriculture* played a part in the longevity of these constructs partially due to the images' influence on the audience's understanding of the past. In the following section I survey some of the early modern intellectual notions of rice agriculture in an attempt to link them to *Pictures of Agriculture*.

3.2.7 Rice Agriculture as a Charged Ideological Construct

Cultural anthropologist Ohnuki-Tierney analyzed the substantial role of rice in the self-identity of the Japanese. She wrote:

Kai scroll because he might have known Kano Tan'yū through their mutual contact with Horin Jōshō (See: Gerhart, Karen M. 2000. Kano Tan'yū and Horin Josho: Patronage and Artistic Practice. *Monumenta Nipponica* 55 (4):483-508. p. 487).

³¹⁹ For the cultural aspects of “naturalizations” and its theoretical use by Barthes, Bourdieu, and Foucault, See: Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. 1993. *Rice as self: Japanese identities through time*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. p.6.

*As a people, the Japanese have repeatedly reconceptualized themselves as they encountered different others—Chinese and Westerners—by using rice as a metaphor for themselves. In addition to rice grains as food, rice paddies have played an enormously important role in the self-identity or identities of the Japanese. Thus the symbolism of rice is bifurcated: on the one hand, “rice as our food” and, on the other hand, “rice paddies as our land,” each reinforcing the other.*³²⁰

While Ohnuki-Tierney’s study focuses on modern Japanese identity, she also details how rice was perceived in earlier periods.³²¹ I propose applying her conclusion—namely, that rice paddies are a metaphor for Japanese self-identity—to the proto-nationalistic period. In fact, economic and cultural circumstances during the second half of the Edo period were catalysts for linking rice to political identity, because while the predominance of rice as the base of the economy was imposed de-jure, de-facto processes shifted economic dominance to urban trade. The resulting tensions led intellectuals to ponder the role of rice in maintaining a just society. It is against this background that Neo-Confucian scholars, and later scholars of *kokugaku* (国学 Jp.; National Learning or Nativism³²²), wrote about rice farming.

Kokugaku scholars studied historical and literary Japanese classics, from which they attempted to summarize the indigenous values of the Japanese. Cultivating antagonism towards Buddhism, Confucianism, and any other “foreign” notion as polluting the natural and pure essence of the native traditions, they paid particular attention to the ancient stories in the *Kojiki* (712) and the *Nihon-shoki* (720).³²³ The story of the sun goddess Amaterasu bestowing the

320 Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993. p.4

321 Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993. p. 88

322 *Nativism* is the term preferred by Harry Harootunian, but it is not used by all scholars writing in English; I therefore use here the Japanese term *kokugaku*. Many of the scholars who study early modern Japanese thought today were Harootunian’s students and follow his terminology.

323 Already in the beginning of the eighteenth century Japanese scholars were engaged in revisiting the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*. See: Nosco, Peter. 1990. *Remembering paradise: nativism and nostalgia in eighteenth-century Japan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Yenching Institute, p. 80.

“country of fresh rice ears” (瑞穂の国, Jp. *mizuho no kuni*) on her descendants to rule³²⁴ led to the imagining of rice paddies as embodiments of a “pure” utopic Japan. Consequently, *kokugaku* scholars linked rice rituals and imperial worship, interpreting farming practices and rituals as continual reconfirmations of the imperial rule over Japan. These notions were defined as *shintō* (神道; literally, the way of the gods), and were used from the nineteenth century to support modern Japanese nationalism. It is thus difficult to examine *kokugaku* notions today without considering the militaristic propaganda of the twentieth century and its horrendous outcomes. It is similarly difficult to separate the history of rice farming and its images from the modern fundamentalist agrarian ideology (農本主義 Jp. *nōhonshugi*), since much of the prewar study of rice agriculture was motivated by essentialist notions with national overtones.

Below I detail some of the concepts that were tied with rice agriculture and its study from the early modern to the modern period. This discussion supports the understanding of the painted images as communicative tools in the early modern period and indicates issues in twentieth-century studies of them.

3.2.7.1 Rice Agriculture in the Writings of *Kokugaku* Scholars

Rice appears as a charged theme in the writings of two of the most dominant *kokugaku* scholars: Moto’ori Norinaga (1730-1801, 本居宣長) and his follower Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843, 平田篤胤). Their treatises discussed land, nature, and rice as unique characteristics of

324 The *Kojiki* describes the land that Amaterasu gave her descendants as a “land of the plentiful reed plain and the thousands autumns and fresh rice ears” (豊葦原之千秋長五百秋之水穂国 Jp. *Toyo-ashi-hara-no-chi-aki-no-naga-i-ho-aki-no-mizu-ho-no-kuni*). In short, *mizunoho kuni*, or “land of fresh rice ears,” which later became one of Japan’s names. Thus relating to Japan as a rice country echoes the *Kojiki*’s myths regarding the divine rights of the emperor. For the text of the *Kojiki*, see: *Japanese Historical text Initiative*. 2006. (University of California at Berkeley <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/jhti/cgi-bin/jhti/image.cgi?page=48&kan=2&honname=2> (accessed April 2010)).

Japan and as evidence of the nation's superiority. Norinaga and Atsutane played a crucial role in later formation of modern Japanese nationalism and their influence on interpretations of ancient Japanese texts is still apparent. Their insistence on the inherent place of rice in Japanese culture is so profound that it is difficult to differentiate, even today, between the way rice was understood during the Edo period and in later periods.

Despite the fact that artworks like the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest* predate the main publications of *kokugaku*, I suggest that both the artistic and the intellectual trend relied on similar cultural constructs, which led them to idealize rice farming; likewise, both trends were motivated by contemporaneous agrarian ideologies. For example, Norinaga's quest for Japanese uniqueness led him to find traces of ancient concepts in every aspect of daily life. He wrote:

*[T]o list all the products in which our country excels, but foremost among them is rice, which sustains the life of man, for whom there is no product more important. Our country's rice has no peer in foreign countries, from which fact it may be seen why our other products are also superior. Those who were born in this country have long been accustomed to our rice and take it for granted, unaware of its excellence. They can enjoy such excellent rice morning and night to their heart's content because they have been fortunate enough to be born in this country.*³²⁵

Norinaga's idealization of Japanese rice may first be dismissed as uninformed or xenophobic,³²⁶ but it is important to remember that intellectuals in the late eighteenth century wrote against the backdrop of a growing sense of political crisis. Large-scale changes in the agricultural economy took place throughout the eighteenth century, which resulted in decreasing

325 Greenfeld, 2001. p. 245. Slightly different translation is published in: Nosco, 1990. p. 201.

326 Linking rice and xenophobia repeated particularly during the rising economic tensions between the US and Japan and the debate over the taxation of rice imports in 1990s (they are repeated, for example, in: Greenfeld, 2001 and to a certain extent in: Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993). Within these debates, quotations from Norinaga were used to support the lingering racist images in Japan. Such direct links are somewhat misleading because Norinaga described utopic situation against a background of a growing sense of crisis; for him, "foreign countries" was a much more abstract concept than to thinkers two hundred years later.

rice supplies and mounting inflation in rice prices; these circumstances had a profound influence on the lives of all classes and caused extensive social tension.³²⁷ Examining Norinaga's diaries, Susan Burns demonstrated that Norinaga was "intimately aware" of the economic and social developments that resulted from the rising price of rice in the 1780s. In *Hihon tama kushige* (秘本玉くしげ, *The Secret Jeweled Comb-Box*, 1786), which was published shortly after a wave of peasant uprisings, he wrote:

*[T]he delicious rice they grow is given to those above, and they must live by eating nothing but coarse food, not rice. When one thinks of this, one cannot but feel how pitiful, how miserable are the peasants of this age.*³²⁸

In other words, Norinaga knew well that those who could eat rice both "morning and night" were not the majority of the population in his time. Hence, when he wrote about "our country" he nostalgically described an idyllic state of affairs: the Japan that once was, and the Japan that could be. I propose that this nostalgic view can also be recognized in the Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture*. Namely, the idyllic scenes of rice farming indicated what was missing from, rather than what existed in, the lives of rice cultivators. As such, they conveyed hopes for auspicious and idyllic life in autopic Japan. Thus, I argue the images cannot be elucidated only for their iconography, but need to be contextualized within contemporaneous ideological discourse regarding the livelihood of the farmers.

Harry Harootunian further analyzed the ideology expressed in the agrarian themes in the writings of the *kokugaku* scholar Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) and his followers in *Things Seen*

327 Farmers shifted to cash crops and home industries resulting in decrease in the production of rice. This, in turn, influenced the livelihood of city merchants and the samurai stipends. See: Susan L. Burns. 2003. *Before the nation: Kokugaku and the imagining of community in early modern Japan*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. p. 22.

328 Burns, 2003. p. 29.

and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism. Harootunian ascribes much more complex and overt political undertones to the writings of the *kokugaku* scholars, maintaining that they were not mere nostalgic musings about ancient Japan. Interpreting Atsutane's studies, Harootunian explains the theoretical framework that led to the formation of unbroken links between religious rituals, agrarian ideology, and the subjugation of the farmers. Harootunian argues that the linking of peasants and religious practices served to confirm the peasants' cultural construction as "subjects" within the proto-nationalistic *shintō* ideology. Moreover, the modern ethnographic construction of the countryside as a place of religious gratitude (as reflected in the writing of Yanagita, for example) was built upon Atsutane's notions. The cultural construction of farmers as subjects of the ancient imperial ideology led to intentional elimination of the physical aspect of labor and the abuse involved in the agricultural system. Consequently, the ideological manipulation involved in modern studies of "ordinary and abiding people" was neutralized.³²⁹ It is not mere chance that Harootunian's book cover is taken from the Tokyo model of the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest* (figure 40); it was selected because it perfectly exemplifies the ideological mechanisms Harootunian analyzed. Like Atsutane's writing, the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest* associates religious rituals, good fortune, and the peasants' willing obedience to state control. Elements indicating physical labor or social tension were eliminated to present an image of the

329 Harootunian uses dense jargon:

*Although I have proposed that nativism also installed a subject position for the folk, the operation presupposed the existence of an Other, whether China or the national deities and ancestors. In either case, the Other functioned as the place of difference whose existence constantly jeopardized the stability of fixed identities. Because the Other because yoked to the deities who made the creation and bestowed the blessings of life on the folk, the folk were enjoined to work ceaselessly with their bodies in order repay the gift and thereby to participate in an exchange that never terminated. [The modern ethnographer] Yanagita reduced the importance of reproduction and diminished the relationship with the Other that nativists had seen as a condition for practice. (Harry D. Harootunian. 1988. *Things seen and unseen: discourse and ideology in Tokugawa nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 417).*

Harootunian distinguishes between the othering process of nativism, and Yanagita's view of the farmers. While Nativism recognized both China and the farmers as Others, Yanagita eliminated the subjection process and thus the concealed the place of farmers as Others.

farmers as *natural* subjects of the imperial world order. Harootunian's interpretation explains why images of carefree farmers performing *taue* and *dengaku* could be received as realistic recordings of village life during times of growing economic crisis. It further stresses my argument that we should not mistake to analyze these images as expressing the farmers' will and on-going identification with the state apparatus.

3.2.7.2 Ethnography, Identity, and *Pictures of Agriculture*

The study of rice rituals owes much to the ethnographer Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962, 柳田國男). Through Yanagita's pioneering ethnographic studies, the Japanese learned to imagine their ancestors as a peaceful and, to great extent, homogenous group of rice cultivators. Yanagita's concept gained supremacy among intellectuals during the rapid modernization and growth of nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century.³³⁰

Depictions of ancient agricultural rituals, such as the aforementioned *dengaku* scene in the Daisenji scroll (figure 37) and those in the *yamato-e* style *Pictures of Agriculture*, played an important role in ethnographic research. For example, the Daisenji image developed into a nationwide signifier of life in ancient Japan, and was used to suggest a continuity of agricultural rituals from the medieval period to the modern period.³³¹ This resulted in an ahistorical approach to studies of *Pictures of Agriculture* in particular, and to genre paintings in general.

330 Yanagita cannot be dismissed only as a nationalist or an essentialist. He was the first scholar to concentrate on commoners and give farmers a respectful place in modern Japanese historiography. Ohnuki-Tierney commented justly that Yanagita's painstaking studies cannot be dismissed merely as constructions. (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1993, p. 92).

331 Because similar rituals are still conducted during the Ōtaue (great rice festival) in the Hiroshima prefecture (Chūgoku region). The link between the one image from the Daisenji and the contemporary festival was analyzed by Takano Hiroshi in a critical manner. Accordingly, the Ōtaue were studied not only as reflections of the past, but also as a means to explain the development of indigenous religions and the indigenous performing arts of Japan as a whole. On the factual level, the plow rituals that involve oxen are characteristic only of the Chūgoku region, and cannot possibly be celebrated at the mountainous regions due to the small size of the paddies, or in

Yanagita's work maintained dominance in the Japanese academy until the 1960's. The historian Ienaga Saburō (1913-2002) wrote in the concluding chapter of his book *Japanese Art: A Cultural Appreciation*:

*It seems to me that at the bottom of this continuity in Japanese history is the absence of far-reaching revolutions in the way of life of the agricultural villages that have always formed the basis of Japanese society. Until the period following World War 2 [...] throughout the roughly two thousands years that had passed since agriculture was introduced into Japan in the Yayoi period, nothing had happened to replace the old ways of raising crops.*³³²

Ienaga's writing is symptomatic of his time (the original Japanese version was published in 1959, shortly after the end of the American occupation). Typically, he overlooked significant changes in peasants' lives throughout the premodern age, and mourned the decline of traditional Japan.³³³ Additionally, Ienaga's emphasis on community and animistic beliefs in his description of the premodern Japanese owes much to the essentialist ideology developed by Yanagita and his students.³³⁴ The fact that Ienaga's search for essential patterns in Japanese *art* led him to *agriculture* points to major "blind spots" in modern Japanese studies of genre paintings. Ienaga's nostalgic view of premodern Japan ignores the place of reproduction in the art circles and blinds him to the important place of Chinese models in Japanese artworks. This approach affected later studies of *Pictures of Agriculture*, since the theme was studied mainly as a historical text rather

Northern Japan due to weather conditions. Thus the Daisenji image may reflect a local festival but cannot be taken as evidence of rice rituals in other regions. See: Takano Hiroshi 高野宏. 2009. Achievements and Problems in Research on Ōtaue in Japanese Folklore Studies 日本民族学における大田植研究の成果と課題. *Okayama daigaku daigakuin shakai bunka kagaku kenkyūka kiyō*. 岡山大学大学院社会文化科学研究科紀要 .27: 123-42.

332 Ienaga, 1979. p. 175.

333 Current studies indicate significant changes in agricultural techniques from the twelfth century onwards, such as the import of new crops and implementation of irrigation techniques in the medieval period and spread of agricultural knowledge during the Edo period. See: Anne Walthall. 2006. *Japan: a cultural, social, and political history*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Note, however, that Ienaga Saburo was clearly identified with the political left; he gained world acclaim when taking to court the Japanese Ministry of Education after his textbooks were censored for including pacifistic messages and information regarding the Japanese army's crimes of war.

334 Although Ienaga Saburo criticized Yanagita (see: Takano, 2009.ft. 8).

than within the context of the Kano school.³³⁵ In fact, I find traces of Yanagita's essentialism even in the recent studies of Hatakeyama and Kōno, and in Takeda's interest in *wayōka*. This interpretation resulted in an ahistorical approach being taken not only in studies of *Pictures of Agriculture*, but in those concerning genre paintings in general.

Yanagita pioneered research on the margins of Japanese society in the Meiji period, just when the Kano school was losing its hegemonic and canonic cultural role to European and *nihon-ga* trends. The artificial link between the canonic images of the early modern period and the ethnographic findings of the modern period was created against the backdrop of national mobilization in the early twentieth century, which aimed at recruiting all echelons of society under the imperial flag. The images of farmers were thus reinterpreted in order to fit into the new national narrative. These were no longer elitist images but authentic records of village life.³³⁶ Thus, although Japanese scholarship repeated the truisms about the Chinese origins of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, it separated the images from their Chinese models and the Kano copying practices by focusing on their Japanization.³³⁷ The Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture* were recategorized to suit the overpowering opinion that a unique and conclusive Japanese identity existed. As a result, the visual or political continuity with the Chinese models was overlooked.

335 Essentialist claims regarding “the peasant soul of Japan” (also a book title by Sophia University professor Watanabe Shōichi) are no longer accepted as an academic theme, and are considered as a footnote in studies of *nihonjinron* (studies pertaining to Japanese idiosyncrasy). Still, I find similarities between such essentialist views of Japan as an unchanging farmers’ society (until modernism and westernization “contaminated” it) and the depictions of farming societies during the early modern period. See: Watanabe, Shōichi. 1989. *The peasant soul of Japan*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

336 Modern prints with *kōsakuzu* and *yōsanzu* were added to series of national flavor, such as the *Dai Nippon bussan zue* (大日本物産図絵, Pictures of products of the Great Japan). See 6.0.

337 The studies by Watabe Takeshi and the catalogue by the Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan (1990) focus on the Chinese sources rather than on their Japanization. Still, the focus of their study is historical: while they acknowledge the cultural mechanism they did not look into its *raison d'être*.

The modern discourse about the images utilized the ancient binary distinctions of *kara-yamato* to support the hypothesis that early modern Japanization meant separation from Chinese culture. However, as contemporary scholars have already established, *kara* and *yamato* are problematic cultural constructs, and despite their antiquity, their distinctions are essentialist and ahistoric. I prefer therefore to draw away from Takeda's analysis of Japanization as a one-way progression in the works of the Kano school and propose to look at the process of Japanization as stemming from growing political and economic instability. That, in turn increased intellectual inquiry into the Japanese self.

I am inspired to use the conclusions of literary scholar Atsuko Sakaki who noted the versatility and dynamism that involved Japanese self-definition vis-à-vis the Chinese *Other*. In her book *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature*, Sakaki surveys and analyzes the charged rhetoric over “China” and “Chineseness” in Japanese literary sources. She writes:

Attempts to define given attributes as typically Japanese predate the Japanese search for cultural identity in the age of nationalism [...]. Whereas national territories were not delineated as they are in modern geography, the boundaries between the two “countries” were clearly drawn. [...] inconsistencies and inaccuracies notwithstanding, there was an obsession with contrasting what was Japanese from what was Chinese. [...]

*From the tenth to the eighteenth centuries, China remained the Other as Japan produced its many faces, corresponding to the faces of Japaneseness. Japan's relative political isolation helped accelerate the objectification of China as the symbolic Other.*³³⁸

Sakaki then explains how the discourse about the symbolic Other changed throughout Japanese history, and served changing ideologies and mentalities. In the Edo period it was indeed

338 Atsuko Sakaki. 2006. *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese polarity in Japanese literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 21-22.

obsessions with China that reshaped definitions of various ideological and cultural trends. I suggest that we should understand the Kano school's history of Japanization in this context, particularly in regard to the charged image of rice farming.

3.2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I surveyed the role of Chinese models in the Japanization of agricultural images. I argued that in order to emphasize their lingering importance in Kano school reproductions, it is important to consider the role of printed Chinese manuals, whose centrality was not acknowledged in official histories of the Kano school. Additionally, I suggested that Chinese models were both a point of dispatch for Kano artworks and a dynamic point of reference. Namely, as in the writings of Edo-period intellectuals, painters used images of rice farming to support their ideology and indicate crisis points in their own society. Thus the study of Japanization sheds new light on transmission and change in the Kano schools.

I further argued that, due to the fundamental place of the Kano school in the Japanese canon and the axial role of agricultural images in the formation of modern Japanese identity, the *Pictures of Agriculture* were turned into nostalgic symbols of the past by modern Japanese scholars. By discussing these proto-nationalistic and nationalistic cultural constructs, I attempted to disconnect the images from their modern interpretation as historical records and to emphasize their role within Edo art circles.

4.0 CHAPTER 3: AGRICULTURE AND SERICULTURE IN PRINT: THE QUESTION OF JAPANESE PAINTING MANUALS

In the former chapters, I discussed the *kōshoku-zu* (耕織図, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*) produced for the elite. In this chapter, I describe how these images turned from exclusive paintings on scrolls and folding screens into common motifs in popular printed books. A key figure in this process is the artist Tachibana Morikuni (橘守国, 1679-1748), who was presumably responsible for turning the secret model-books of the Kano school into public documents. Morikuni, however, was not the only transmitter of agrarian images. During the Genroku era (1688-1703), popular encyclopedias and manuals with agrarian illustrations became popular with Japanese readers. These were often adaptations of Chinese popular encyclopedias and to a certain extent reflected Chinese, rather than Japanese, realities. Nevertheless, the illustrations performed an important role in the way urbanites imagined the countryside. The role of these early eighteenth century period books in the later eighteenth-century visual culture becomes evident when we come to analyze polychrome prints (Jp. *nishiki-e*). This later form of woodblock print often used parody as part of its rich visual language. Comparing vignettes of agrarian or sericultural activities in printed books with their later adaptations in *nishiki-e* emphasizes that the former *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were linked to Neo-Confucian worldview and authoritative symbols.

4.1.1 *Pictures of Agriculture in Print*

We cannot understand art production in Japan of the eighteenth century without taking into consideration the country's lively illustrated books market. Although historians recognize the fundamental importance of printed books in intellectual circles during the Edo period, and despite the great interest in woodblock prints among art historians, the role of printed illustrated books in art production and art dissemination has been largely overlooked. In this chapter, I will examine printed images of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, and conclude that during the eighteenth century such book illustrations were produced and appreciated for their formal characteristics and similarity to traditional models. Despite the obvious differences in technique and dissemination, it is likely that receivers studied and appreciated printed visuals almost as if they were ink paintings.³³⁹ Therefore, it is essential to take into consideration the role of printed model books (絵手本, Jp. *edehon*) when analyzing the art of the time and its production. In this chapter, I will survey the dissemination of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in print in order to trace the blurred contours that mark the relationship between ink paintings and printed illustrations.

The Japanese print world went through dramatic transformations during the seventeenth century. While publishing during the Kan'ei era (1624-1644) was characterized by classical texts with crude illustrations produced for an elite audience, most printed books published by the beginning of the eighteenth century included popular texts with refined illustrations that catered

339 For the discussion of the formal qualities of early prints, and the attempt to create similar qualities to brushstrokes, see: Hinohara Kenji 日野原健司. 2008. Printing technique in the nascent period of Osaka Art Circles: Morikuni Tachibana's Unpitsuso-ga (rough brush sketches) and the woodblock carver behind its realization 大坂画壇胎動期の出版技術--橘守国『運筆匱画』とそれを支える彫師 (特集「大坂画壇」は蘇るか?「綺麗なもん」から「面白いもん」まで). *Bijutsu forum 21* 美術フォーラム 21 17:34-39.

to all classes. This print “revolution” brought both classical texts and led formerly elite visuals among the lower classes to the world of commoners. The dissemination of agrarian images makes a representative example of this process of popularization, so I will describe it below in detail. Yet, agrarian images also carried cultural baggage. As we have seen, rice agriculture in the four seasons was associated with the heavenly mandate to rule, with taxation and wealth, and with a rising national ideology defined vis-à-vis Chinese culture. The dissemination of agrarian images in print thus marks a growing discourse between new audiences over social and ideological issues.

One of the major complications in surveying the history of agrarian images in printed Japanese books is the lack of clear data regarding the availability of Chinese and Korean books in the Japanese market. Comparing book illustrations can thus serve as circumstantial evidence for the availability of imported books.³⁴⁰ Japan’s complex relations with its neighbors in the twentieth century have hindered work in this area. The facts seem to point to contradictory stances on the part of the Japanese when it comes to borrowing ideas from China. Japan holds great collections of Chinese books, many of these volumes no longer exist in China, indicating a great interest in Chinese knowledge, but art historians overlooked these books throughout most of the Shōwa period (1926-1989). The growing globalization of the academic world has recently brought new interest to issues of international exchange, and it is no longer acceptable to see Edo culture as detached from continental trends. Yet the lacunae and biases of former scholars still exert influence, and are part of the reason why I decided to look more closely at this topic. As the academic environments in Japan, China, and Korea are changing as an increasing number of

³⁴⁰ Visual information can thus serve as important evidence when writing about the intellectual relations between Japan and its neighbors during the Edo period.

scholars remap and reassess issues of cultural exchange. Future studies will fine-tune and elaborate the trends I highlight in this chapter.

4.1.1.1 Illustrated Books in China

While scholars of Japanese arts often concentrate on local changes, I argue that we cannot understand the changes and developments in the Japanese print industry without taking China into serious consideration.³⁴¹ The Chinese print industry developed significantly during the late Ming dynasty, particularly in the Wanli era (1573-1620), approximately a generation before the Japanese print industry expanded. Many publications from the last decade contain fascinating perspectives into the book industry in China (see below), and although Japanese scholars have contributed greatly to this field, it is surprising how few of the studies compare printing techniques in the two countries.³⁴² In several separate research studies, however, scholars note a common chain of events: the development of printing techniques led to standardization and lowering of prices; readership expanded leading to the production of popular materials catering to the lower echelons of society; illustrations became major elements in the book and became in turn form of media with its own rules, fans, and technical innovations.³⁴³ I propose that the links between the Chinese print industry and the Japanese print industry are not coincidental,

341 Korean books were also part of this cultural exchange. I conjecture that Korean merchants, Korean books, and Korean copies of Chinese books took an essential part of the cultural phenomena I describe above, but I could refer here only to Chinese sources due to the lack of studies in English and Japanese about the early modern Korean print industry.

342 The links between the development and expansion of print techniques in the two countries are clear to all, but few scholars indicated direct connections. See for example: Nagata Seiji 永田生慈. 2000. Ukiyoe to chūgoku minkan hanga to no kakawari nitsuite 浮世絵と中国民間版画との関わりについて. In 錦絵と中国版画展: 錦絵はこうして生まれた (*Nishiki-e and Chinese Prints: The Birth of Nishiki-e*, edited by Ōta Memorial Museum of Art 太田記念美術館. Tokyo: Ōta kinen bijutsukan. p. 73-77. See also: Kobayashi Hiromitsu. 1987. Figure compositions in seventeenth century Chinese prints and their influences on Edo period Japanese painting manuals, University of California, Berkeley.

343 An earlier example to discuss this process is: Robert E. Hegel. 1988. *Reading illustrated fiction in the late imperial China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

but are the result of Chinese book imports to Japan from the Genroku era (1688-1703). At the same time, the flourishing of the book industry in Japan and a growing readership expanded and enriched the Chinese models. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Japanese industry had improved upon the Chinese printing and publishing techniques. Moreover, Chinese and Korean merchants did not turn a blind eye to the Japanese developments and bought Japanese books and single prints for their own local markets. Due to the very opportunistic nature of the print industries, painters disregarded the original contexts of images and visual borrowing took many forms. It is beyond my skills and knowledge to delineate the clear-cut evolution of this process. Using Tachibana Morikuni and his agrarian illustrations as a case-study, however, I will suggest a possible connection between the Chinese and Japanese book industries. Assuming that Morikuni and his publishers are but one representative case of many may lead to a more detailed understanding of the ways Chinese illustrated books contributed to Japan's exquisite print culture during the Edo period.

4.1.2 Early Modern Japanese Importation of Chinese Books

Until recently, Japan during the Edo period was described as *sakoku* (鎖国 literally: country in chains) a term suggesting that the borders of Japan were sealed. Studies in the last decade, however, emphasize that *sakoku* is a modern term. Despite strict regulations on imports which significantly limited their number, many technological, artistic, ideological, and intellectual changes took place in Edo-period Japan because of the influence of imported books and goods from the Asian continent.

Below, I refer to changes in the Japanese print world that are linked to imports of printed works to Japan. The large number of imported books and the breadth of their popularity were

meticulously surveyed by Peter Kornicki.³⁴⁴ According to his findings, there was a steady flow of Chinese books entering Japan from the Nara period (710-784) onward.³⁴⁵ The majority of the books imported in the pre-modern period were linked with Buddhism, Confucianism, literature, and medicine and it is not implausible that books related to agricultural and sericultural technologies were also imported prior to the sixteenth century. It is not clear how illustrations in these printed books may have influenced Japanese paintings. In the case of agrarian images, as I detailed above, there is no concrete evidence for their influence on the visual culture, although a small number of vignettes in illustrated handscrolls may testify such dynamics.

Two major historical events led to change in the place of the book in early modern Japan. Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (豊臣秀吉) invasion of Korea in the last years of the sixteenth century was the first of these, and it was followed by the importation of thousands of new books. In previous generations, books were imported on the basis of "shopping lists" composed by Japanese aristocrats for the monks who were headed for the continent, but the books brought in by the military forces covered much broader topics. One consequence of this change was the sudden exposure of Japanese painters to theoretical writings about art and to unfamiliar painterly themes.³⁴⁶

The development of printing techniques in Ming China was the second important historical development. This led to the popularization of printed books and pictures and the dissemination of information in China and all areas under its influence. Printed books and images were imported to Japan in growing numbers from the sixteenth century onwards, and

344 Peter F. Kornicki. 1998. *The book in Japan: a cultural history from the beginnings to the nineteenth century*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill. p. 277-319.

345 There is no indication of the content of these books. See: Kornicki, 1998. p. 277.

346 The teikan-zusetsu is a conspicuous example for this process. See: Karen M. Gerhart. 1997. Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars: The Teikan Zusetsu Murals of Nagoya Castle. *Monumenta Nipponica* 52 (1). p. 4.

received increasing attention from readers.³⁴⁷ One of the consequences was the infiltration of vignettes from technical books into Japanese visual culture.

The development and distribution of printing techniques in Ming China has attracted the attention of a growing number of scholars.³⁴⁸ They all point out the dynamic developments and great social changes that impacted book production and consumption in late Ming China. Book illustrations, although of much interest among collectors and museums, have not yet been studied with similar intellectual vigor, but there is enough circumstantial evidence to establish that thousands of illustrated Chinese books, along with single prints, made their way to Japan during the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

4.1.2.1 Previous Scholarship

The import and distribution of printed visuals such as single prints and book illustrations have only been partially examined by previous scholars. The influence of Chinese prints on the *bunjin* (文人, literati) painters and the Maruyama-Shijō school (円山四条派) is acknowledged.³⁴⁹ Additionally, the appearance of Japanese prints with linear perspective (浮絵, Jp. *uki-e*) and of Western-style paintings (e.g. Akita Ranga school 秋田蘭画) was linked to imported prints from

347 Japanese collections hold a large number of Ming and Qing books which cannot be traced in China. Japanese Sinologists have examined these books, but comparative studies are still surprisingly few. As the study of the book in China is a very dynamic field today, it is a matter of time until Japanese scholars will take a more dominant place in the research of the Chinese book and its exportation.

348 See for example: Cynthia Joanne Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow, eds. 2005. *Printing and book culture in late Imperial China, Studies on China* ; 27. Berkeley: University of California Press; Lucille Chia, and W. L. Idema. 2007. *Books in Numbers: seventy-fifth anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library : conference papers, Harvard-Yenching Library studies*. Cambridge, Mass. Hong Kong: Harvard-Yenching Library; Kai-wing Chow. 2004. *Publishing, culture, and power in early modern China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; Kai-wing Chow, Kevin Michael Doak, and Poshek Fu. 2001. *Constructing nationhood in modern East Asia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

349 For example: Jack Ronald Hillier. 1987. *The art of the Japanese book*. London, New York: Published for Sotheby's Publications by Philip Wilson Publishers; Distributed in the U.S. by Harper & Row. p. 75.

Suzhou—one of the largest print centers in seventeenth-century China.³⁵⁰ In 1990, a large exhibit at the Machida Municipal Museum established a strong link between printed Chinese manuals and practically all leading painters in the Edo period.³⁵¹ More recently, the Ōta Memorial Museum acknowledged the strong link between the Suzhou single prints and the birth of multi-colored printing in Japan.³⁵² This theory had already been voiced in 1944 by Ōno Tadashige, who pointed out the influence Suzhou prints had on *ukiyo-e*.³⁵³ Later scholars—Aoki Shigeru and particularly Naruse Fujie—emphasized the correlation between the development of Suzhou prints, their exportation, and the appearance of multi-colored print technique in Japan.³⁵⁴ Their study is supported by the fact that Japanese collections of Suzhou prints are among the largest in the world today, and that early *nishiki-e* artists repeated vignettes and techniques that appear in early *ukiyo-e*. According to Naruse, the beginning of Suzhou prints' popularity in Japan can be dated to ca. 1660 to ca. 1760.³⁵⁵ As impetus for the trade, he cites a change in Chinese trade regulations, which led to an increase in exports from the area of the lower Yangtze River (i.e., from the port of Shanghai) to Japan. This trade remained popular as long as Chinese prints offered the Japanese audience a novelty of style and technique. Declines in creativity and trade in the Suzhou area in the eighteenth century weakened the trade of printed goods to Japan.³⁵⁶ These trends were joined by internal changes in the archipelago: growing literacy, a flourishing native printing industry, and an urban audience seeking new excitement—all of these contributed to the

350 For the influence *uki-e* derived from Suzhou prints and from Chinese translations of European treatises on linear perspective, see: Julian Jinn Lee. 1977. *The Origin and Development of Japanese Landscape Prints: A Study in the Synthesis of the Eastern and Western Art*, University of Washington.

351 Machida shiritsu kokusai hanga bijutsukan, 1990.

352 Ōta memorial museum, 2000.

353 John Lust. 1996. *Chinese popular prints*. Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill. p. 178.

354 In: Lust, 1996. p. 38. Ōta memorial museum also repeats Naruse's and Aoki's seminal claims. Ōta Memorial Museum of Art, 2000.p. 73.

355 In: Lust, 1996. p. 177.

356 Lust, 1996. p. 120.

flourishing of a competitive local market for books and visual prints. From the second half of the eighteenth century, the Japanese market developed steadily, becoming less and less influenced by imported products.

The establishment of the multi-colored print technique in Japan seems to have been a watershed in the decline of imports. Naruse suggests that once Japan fully learned the Chinese technique, much of the desire to import Chinese prints, which had already started to lose their novelty, waned. Given this background, it is interesting to note that the common history of *ukiyo-e* attributes the invention of the *nishiki-e* technique to the painter Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信, fl. 1765-1770), and overlooks the role imported materials may have had on his work.

Early modern printed books attracted the attention of collectors and scholars outside Japan beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet it is only since the 1980s that scholars have looked at the relationship between painters and illustration books.³⁵⁷ Studies of Edo-period popular culture are on the rise in the last decade, both inside and outside Japan; as a result, book collections are exhibited, documented, and categorized for their historical, visual, and cultural significance.

As specific examples of the trends outlined above, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* point to the relationship between Japanese and Chinese illustrated books, and to Japanese painters' heavy reliance on imported model books. This relationship seems to be acknowledged by all scholars, yet to my knowledge there is no detailed study to prove the direct influence of Chinese books on *ukiyo-e* painters.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁷ For a comprehensive examination of Japanese illustrated books collections and their study in Europe, see: Hillier, 1987.

³⁵⁸ This conclusion is based on visual similarities between prints, but the understanding of patterns of appropriation awaits further research. Studies of *ukiyo-e* acknowledge the influence of Chinese prints, but do not indicate concrete historical and economic data. For example: David Waterhouse. 1997. Some Confucian, Buddhist,

4.1.3 Printing in Japan

The appearance of agricultural and sericultural motifs in printed books should be understood within the context of the Japanese print industry. Although the print industry is studied today primarily by art and literary historians, it was actually a commercial trade, which meant that many of the new techniques promoted by publishers were aimed at gaining a wider paying audience, not new modes of expression. Publishers were the power behind the print industry; they commissioned and selected written texts, combined them with imagery, directed the carvers, and controlled the final binding and marketing of the books. Sources list approximately six thousand publishing houses that operated throughout the Edo period, but the fact that only a limited number of them survived after publishing one edition indicates that the business was highly competitive.³⁵⁹

Rendering visuals together with the texts did not posit special problems for publishers, since pages were carved as a single block, and similar techniques were used for the carving of images and texts (moveable type was not practical for the various fonts and many characters of Japanese writings). Still, the fact that almost all books carried some sort of visual embellishment indicates that readers were attracted to images, and that publishers catered to their taste. In the first half of the Edo period, Kyoto was the center of the print industry, but in the eighteenth-century art production followed the political and economic shift to Edo. Still, some of the most creative forces of the eighteenth century continued their activity in the Kansai area, and

and Taoist Mitate-e by Harunobu. *Impressions* 19:29-53. Among the very few who indicate direct influence of Suzhou prints on *ukiyo-e*, see in particular: Nagata, 2000. p. 76. In comparison, Hillier (1978. p. 69-79) and the Machida shiritus kokusai hanga bijutsukan (1990) acknowledge the influence of Chinese books on art production, but focus mainly on *bunjinga*.

³⁵⁹ Marceau, Lawrence. 2001. The floating world of Ukiyo-e: shadows, dreams, and substance. In *The floating world of Ukiyo-e: shadows, dreams, and substance*, edited by S. Kita. New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Library of Congress. p. 84.

cooperated with the print industry in Osaka and Kyoto to write and illustrate books.³⁶⁰ The world described above was the one Tachibana Morikuni found himself part of, he being only one of dozens of commercial painters who worked for the Osaka print industry producing illustrations and paintings by commission.

4.1.3.1 Kano Einō's and the reprinting of the book by Song Zonglu

In chapter two I conjectured that Kano artists were using printed books as their models. Among the body of evidence to support this claim is Kano Einō's (狩野永納, 1631-1697) usage of a Ming-dynasty book for the production of a Japanese-style folding screen of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* (figure 51).

Kano Einō, the head of the Kyoto-Kano school, was the first to create a printed Japanese edition of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in 1676. As I detailed earlier, his book was closely based on the 1462 edition of Song Zonglu (宋宗魯, dates unknown). Watabe Takeshi indicated that Einō used a tattered copy for his reprint, thus one of Einō's motivations for creating the copy was to preserve the cherished original for future use.³⁶¹ Still, Einō carefully reproduced the texts, and did not insert any practical information of the kind we find in painting manuals, suggesting that his interest in the book was more than just painting techniques. Why did Einō have this book printed? Why did he choose this form? Who were the targeted receivers? There is no clear reply to the above questions, but Einō's choice to produce a printed – not a painted – manual may suggest an interest in the medium, which was still considered novel at the time. Additionally, it may suggest that Einō intended to distribute the book among his disciples

³⁶⁰ Although the print industry was less dependent on local markets, we should not forget that competition with rival publishing houses in other cities and catering towards the fans of local theaters and pleasure quarters often dictated the development of the trade.

³⁶¹ Watabe, 1986. p.13.

to serve as a model book. If this is the case, then we can identify a significant shift in art appreciation, since in the seventeenth century the contours of brushstrokes and other elements of style could not be rendered accurately in print, leaving theme and content as the superior determinants of a piece's artistic value.³⁶² Several libraries around the world hold copies of Einō's book today.³⁶³ Thus I assume that Einō's book was distributed to workshops that were not part of the Kyoto Kano lineage, where it influenced the works of later painters. It is also noteworthy that later painters used the book as a model, but Japanized the illustrations (as in the case of the Hori family model, figures 28-32).

Twenty years later, in 1696 (Genroku 10) we find another printed copy of *Pictures of Agriculture*. These are merely five modest illustrations depicting Japanese farmers (figure 57), but they adorned one of the most influential books of the Edo period: *Nōgyō zensho* (農業全書, *The Complete Book of Agriculture*).

4.1.3.2 *The Complete Book of Agriculture*

Nōgyō zensho (農業全書, *The Complete Book of Agriculture*) was a popular manual of agricultural techniques, first published in 1696.³⁶⁴ Detailing practical advice for raising various crops, animal husbandry, food preservation, storage, and coping with natural disasters, it became an essential handbook during this time, in which fiefs and villages struggled to increase their

362 From a methodological perspective this is an important point because questions of style were important for modern scholars. Questions of style were also of supreme importance to premodern artists, judging from texts such as the *Kundaikan* where the division of painters is based also on their formal characteristics. In fact, until the prints of Ōoka Shunboku (大岡春朴, 1680-1763) at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the quality of Japanese printed books was too crude to distinguish the quality of line and stroke. See: Hinohara, 2008. p. 34-39.

363 Copies are recorded in the Diet library in Tokyo, Waseda University library, and the Chicago Art Institute.

364 For a modern annotated reprint, see: Miyazaki Yasusada 宮崎安貞. 1978. 農業全書 *Nōgyō zensho* In *Nihon nōsho zensho*, edited by Yamada Tatsuo 山田龍雄. Tokyo: Nōsan Gyoson Bunka Kyoukai 農山漁村文化協会.

yields. The book quickly disseminated throughout Japan and was read by large and diverse audiences.

The Complete Book of Agriculture was compiled by Miyazaki Yasusada (1623-1697, 宮崎安貞), who testified in the introduction that the book is based on his forty years of travel and study in the countryside. His testimony is not to be taken at face value since it was customary for authors of the period to claim they were authentic eyewitnesses who gathered their information empirically.³⁶⁵ Clearly, Miyazaki, like other successful writers of the time, borrowed heavily from Ming-dynasty manuals, such as the *Nongzheng quanshu* (農政全書, The Complete Book of Agricultural Administration, 1639) by Xu Guangqi (徐光啓, 1562-1633).³⁶⁶ At the same time, the five large illustrations that decorated Miyazaki's book are clearly of Japanese style.

The style of the illustrations (figure 57) is somewhat crude and simplistic, typical of the technical limitations of early Genroku-era printing. Still, each of the illustrations comprises of several vignettes, in a manner characteristic of the complex compositions of folding screens. The first illustration depicts farmers plowing, hoeing, and seeding during the spring; the second shows them gathering the seedlings, fertilizing, and bringing food to the paddies; the third—transplanting, irrigation with a bucket, and weeding; the fourth—harvesting, drying the rice ears,

365 Mary Elizabeth Berry. 2006. *Japan in print: information and nation in the early modern period*, Asia--local studies/global themes; 12. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. p. 18-19. Perhaps we can deduce from this trend among writers and suggest that empirical trends were the vogue also among artists. Namely, the attempts to attribute impressions from books to one's own experiences might have been also an artistic genre, and thus the appropriation of illustrations from books was used as a conventional base for depicting the artist's imagined journeys and encounters.

366 Miyazaki admitted the usage of the Chinese manuals (Berry, 2006.p. 18). Hundreds of agricultural manuals were published in premodern China and no doubt influenced earlier versions of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* (on agrarian manuals in China, see: Bray, 1984. p. 55-72). Note that agricultural manuals arrived in Japan prior to Miyazaki's time, but these were not reprinted or distributed popularly prior to the end of the seventeenth century due to the changing economic needs, administrative structure, print techniques, and growing literacy. See: Jennifer Robertson. 1984. Sexy Rice. Plant Gender, Farm Manuals, and Grass-Roots Nativism. *Monumenta Nipponica* 39 (3): 233-260. p. 236-237; Miyazaki Yasusada. 1993. *Nōgyō zensho* [The Compendium on Farming] Introduction. In *Readings in Tokugawa thought*, edited by T. Najita. Chicago, Ill.: Center for East Asian studies University of Chicago.

and separating the grains; the fifth depicts threshing, husking, counting and packing the rice, and storing the rice bails in storehouses.³⁶⁷ The images display *yamato-e* motifs such as *saotome* (maidens transplanting), but are without the indigenous rituals that appeared in earlier versions of Japanized *Pictures of Agriculture* (for example, figure 29 and 51). The rendition of the plows is utterly erroneous,³⁶⁸ suggesting that the anonymous illustrations were produced by an urban painter who worked from a model book. Additionally, some motifs are clearly derived from Chinese agrarian manuals. These are apparent, for example, in the figure holding a staff in front of the storehouse in Wang Zhen's Yuan-dynasty manual (figure 58) and in the *Complete Book of Agriculture* (figure 57).³⁶⁹ In other words, the illustrations were probably commissioned by the book publisher, and contain stereotypical agrarian motifs—a rather different message than the practical approach to nature conveyed by the content of the book.³⁷⁰ Despite the visual similarity to the *kōshoku-zu*, the ten-volume compendium treats the cultivation of rice and mulberry trees in only a fraction of its pages. All of these observations suggest that the choice to decorate the first volume with images of rice cultivation did not derive from the content of the book but were the result of commercial interests, and as I suggest below—ideological considerations.

Miyazaki himself testified in the introduction that his choice of motifs was motivated by his Neo-Confucian worldview.³⁷¹ He invited the scholar Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714, 貝原益軒) to write the preface, and the appendix was composed by Ekiken's brother Kaibara Rakuken

367 Suita Municipal Museum, 吹田市立博物館. 2000. *Nōkō no fūkei: settsu no shiki kōsakuzu* 農耕の風景: 摂津の四季耕作図. Osaka: Suita shiritsu hakubutsukan. p. 53.

368 Reizei et al., 1996. p.80.

369 For Wang Zhen's illustrations and the development of print, see: Hammers, 2002. p. 203-210.

370 The book includes also smaller images of plants and tools, a tendency that will rise in later agrarian manuals.

371 For a partial translation of the introduction to the *Nōgyō zensho*, see: Miyazaki Yasusada, 1993. p. 65-68.

(1625-1702, 貝原樂軒).³⁷² These texts, together with the illustrations, placed the manual within the ideological discourse we examined in the painted formats of *Pictures of Agriculture*: the illustrations sustained the worldview that rice production is an integral part of a holistic and auspicious Confucian society, they justify of the social hierarchy and the ideology of a Japan that is being uniquely blessed.

The *Complete Book of Agriculture* gained a wide audience and maintained its canonical status to the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, the books illustrations became known, charged symbols due to their association with the overall message of Miyazaki's compilation. How are we to imagine the readers of the *Complete Book of Agriculture* and the viewers of the illustrations? According to Richard Rubinger, this book's audience included a wide range of individuals - field workers, samurai, and townspeople, although it is hard to tell how far down the social ladder these books could have been read. By the time the book was published, it was used by landowners to improve their livelihoods, and was probably read to the poor landless farmers (Jp. *mizunomi*). Its popularity was so pervasive that "[i]n some ways *nōsho* were for farmers what Saikaku's works were for townspeople."³⁷³ Since illustrations gain further importance for an audience whose literacy is limited (as was the case for many of the readers of agricultural manuals), I suggest that we should interpret the visual vignettes in the book, together with the technological information, as agents of socialization. This socialization will gain further usage in later Edo period parodies and, in the Meiji period, national mobilization.³⁷⁴

372 For the similar ideas of Miyazaki and Ekiken, see for example: Tessa Morris-Suzuki. 1998. *Re-inventing Japan: time, space, nation, Japan in the modern world*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe. p. 42-43.

373 I am using the term "farmers" in the very broad sense of social class. Rubinger is, however, careful to note the different subcategories of farmers. See: Rubinger, Richard. 2007. *Popular literacy in early modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 89-91.

374 During the Meiji period (1868-1912) pictorial series of *Dai Nippon sangyō* (大日本産業, The Industries of Great Japan), which depicted various agrarian and industrial processes, were distributed as a means of

In order to further stress this point, let us survey another example in which agrarian images served to illustrate a popular Confucian digest which played an essential role in women's education.

4.1.3.3 *The Treasure Box of the Great Learning for Women*

Illustrations similar to those we find in the *Complete Book of Agriculture* appeared in another essential handbook of the Edo period, the *Onna daigaku takarabako* (女大学宝箱, Treasure Box of the Great Learning for Women, first published 1716). This volume was republished in many editions from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, and as the most renowned example of its kind, it gained much scholarly attention in the postwar period. As the title of the book suggests, it is a digest of the Confucian classic *The Great Learning*, combined with practical advice for women. The book has been thoroughly studied and debated by historians, who see it as an important tool in the socialization of women.³⁷⁵ An often-quoted excerpt explains that due to their *yin* nature, women should submit to men (who embody *yang*). Modern scholars thus tend to condemn the book as a portrayal of the weakening and dispossession of women from social or public roles. On the other hand, since the book refers to women of various professions and preaches against female power, historian Yokota Fuyuhiko

creating a sense of togetherness and mobilizing commoners for the good of the nation. Despite the major historical changes, the visual transformation of the *Pictures of Agriculture* does not suggest critical changes, suggesting thus that the national propaganda appropriated early modern values and production techniques.

³⁷⁵ For research trends in the analysis of the *Onna daigaku*, see: Yabuta Yutaka. 2000. Rediscovering women in Tokugawa Japan, Occasional papers in Japanese studies; no. 2000-02. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies.

suggested that the book actually reflects a diverse picture of women's roles in early modern society.³⁷⁶

As was the case with other popular books, *Great Learning for Women* displays illustrations and double-spreads. The scant scholarly attention that has been paid to these illustrations mostly follows along the lines of the historical analysis of the text. The illustrations are taken to be snapshots of Edo women, and the possibility of narrative distortion is overlooked. The simple nature of these small woodblock prints does not call for much depth and layering, but I propose that interpreting the illustrations as elements in a communicative network may suggest functions other than decoration or documentation. The image on the right (figure 59) explains spring activities such as plowing, seeding, and transplanting, while the second depicts autumn activities: harvesting, threshing, and husking. The designer may have selected activities in which women fill major roles, such as bringing food and transplanting (田植), and skipped vignettes that emphasize technology or physical strength, such as irrigation and storing, to make women with low literacy identify with the images more easily. Visual comparison of these two double-spreads from the *Great Learning for Women* indicates that these vignettes were selected from the *Complete Book of Agriculture* (compare for example the vignettes of the food bringer and the *saotome* figure 57 and figure 59). The visual similarity may explain why later scholars linked the two publications and claimed that it was Kaibara Ekiken who also composed the *Great Learning for Women* (a conclusion now rejected by many scholars). We cannot know whether the illustrator linked the two books consciously, or simply recycled his or her model books to fulfill a commercial commission from a publisher. Still, the fact that both examples used depictions of

376 For a historical analysis of *Onna daigaku*, see: Yokota Fuyuhiko. 1999. Imagining working women in early modern Japan. In *Women and class in Japanese history*, edited by H. Tonomura, A. Walthall and H. Wakita. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies the University of Michigan.

the annual activities of rice-farmers to illustrate Confucian messages and a suppressive ideology indicates that *Pictures of Agriculture* remained charged Confucian symbols in their printed versions. This visual similarity counters the argument of many scholars who wished to see the *Great Learning for Women* as a realistic reflection of women's roles in society, since it suggests that the book was fashioned out of existing cultural constructs and does not represent the authors' look at contemporaneous women.

Thirty years after the *Complete Book of Agriculture* was used to begin harnessing agrarian methodologies for the sake of the national economy, and thirteen years after the pictures were readjusted for the socialization of girls, *Pictures of Agriculture* was again distributed in the form of a painter's manual by Tachibana Morikuni. This manual catered to amateurs and professional artists beyond the circles of the Kano and the Tosa schools. Although this and similar compendiums were defined by the leading art historian Takeda Tsuneo as “epoch-making”³⁷⁷ due to their influence on later painters, modern scholarship paid little attention to these books. Focusing on vignettes of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* makes an interesting case study for the understanding of cultural distribution during the eighteenth century.

4.1.4 The Illustrated Edition of Tradable Treasures (絵本通宝志)

Ehon tsūhōshi (絵本通宝志, 1729, The Illustrated Edition of Tradable Treasures)³⁷⁸ was an influential painter's manual by Tachibana Morikuni (1679-1748, 橘守国).³⁷⁹ This book is all

³⁷⁷ Takeda, 1995. p. 247.

³⁷⁸ The title *ehon* (絵本) or *gahon* (画本) was an accepted prefix for illustrated books, and it is sometimes omitted in later references. I therefore translate it as “The illustrated.” See: Kōno Michiaki 河野通明. 2000. Tachibana Morikuni "Ehon tsūhōshi" no kisoteki kenkyū. 橘守国『絵本通宝志』の基礎的研究・上. *Shōkei Ron'i* 商経論叢 36 (1).p.12-16). For alternative translations of Morikuni's titles see: Jordan, Brenda G. 2003. Copying from

but forgotten today, but it gained popularity after its publication, and was reprinted in 1779.³⁸⁰ From the standpoint of agricultural images, it marks the broadening of the audience of this theme from elite to common.

Little is known about Morikuni's biography. He studied in Kyoto under Tsurusawa Tanzan (鶴沢探山, 1658-1729), one of Tan'yū's prominent students. Tanzan had a workshop in Kyoto and filled commissions for the imperial court.³⁸¹ Records indicate that his son, Tangei, produced one *Scroll of Abundant Harvest* by imperial commission (see chapter 2). Unlike his teacher and colleague, Morikuni pursued a career as a book illustrator and his name appears on at least twenty books (ten of them published posthumously).³⁸² For example, in 1714 (at the age of 35) Morikuni illustrated a collection of Chinese stories *Ehon kojidan* (絵本故事談, Illustrated Ancient Tales) and in 1719 he produced a Chinese-style illustrated lexicon *Morokoshi Kinmō Zui* (唐土訓蒙図彙, Illustrated encyclopedia of things chinese) (see below). His fame was established, however, mainly by a series of illustrated manuals for painters: *Ehon shahō bukuro* (絵本写宝袋, 1720, Illustrated bag of copied treasures), *Ehon tsūhōshi* (絵本通宝志, 1729, Illustrated edition of tradable treasures), *Ehon ōshukubai* (絵本鶯宿梅, 1740, Illustrated bush warbler in the plum), and *Ehon nezashi takara* (絵本値指宝, 1745, Illustrated treasure of direct

beginning to end? Student life in the Kano school. In *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting*, edited by B. G. W. Jordan, Victoria. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 35.

379 Kanazawa College of Art uploaded the entire series online.

See: <http://www.kanazawa-bidai.ac.jp/cgi-bin/edebib.pl?bib=77> (accessed April 2010).

380 Kōno, 2000. p. 4.

381 Tanzan studied in Edo, but was invited to work in Kyoto by emperor Higashiyama (東山天皇, 1675-1710). (Kimura Shigekazu 木村重圭. 2004. Ōsaka gadan no tenkai to Kano-ha: Mori Sōsen hitsu kokuma-zu o megutte 大坂画壇の展開と狩野派：森狙仙筆 墨馬図をめぐって [The Development of Osaka Painting Circles and the Kano School : Looking at Mori Sōsen and his Monochrome Horse Paintings] *Konan Women's University researches* 甲南女子大学研究紀要. 40:A65-A76.)

382 Kōno, 2000. p.11.

transmission).³⁸³ These collections of sketches brought to the public domain hitherto unpublished reproductions of Chinese and Japanese masterpieces.

It is not clear what dictated the overall selection and organization of the images in the manuals. In *Tradable Treasures*, for example, the ten volumes follow a rough division into figures, landscapes, birds and flowers, animals, and seascapes.³⁸⁴ This division of motifs, together with Morikuni's introduction, led to the notion that he published his own collection of model-books (粉本, Jp. *funpon*) that he received while a disciple at the Tsurusawa workshop.³⁸⁵ This is a very severe accusation since secrecy was essential for maintaining the prestige and success of professional schools at the time.³⁸⁶ In the introduction to another painting manual that was published a year after his death *Unpitsu sogā* (運筆麁画, Brushstrokes and Sketches, 1749), Morikuni is quoted as explaining "I collected discarded paintings produced on non-special days by preceding teachers as *funpon* [...] and I began to copy the spirit of those styles; I accumulated more than sixty kinds in five categories."³⁸⁷ Later biographical compendia such as the *Ukiyo ruikō* (浮世絵類考, Various thoughts on *ukiyo-e*, 1789-1868) suggested that Morikuni was banished (破門) from the Kano circles after selling the secret models that he gathered while in

383 The word "treasure" often repeats in book titles, such as in the case of "treasure box" (宝箱) or "treasure pouch" (宝袋). It was possibly used to suggest valuable and useful information (as opposed to books for leisure). Additionally, Morikuni's choice of title probably alluded Xia Wenyan's (夏文彦, 1312-1370) famous painters' manual *Tuhui baojian* (圖繪寶鑑 1365, The Precious Mirror of Paintings) or a derivative thereof. The *Tuhui Baojian* arrived in Japan around the Muromachi period (1368-1573), and inspired the writings of seventeenth-century Kano painters such as Kano Ikkei's *Tansei jakubokushū* (丹青若木集) and Einō's *Honchō Gashi* (本朝画史). Alternately, Kōno suggested that the title "tradable treasures" suggested artists of the profit they might gain by using this book (Kōno, 2000. p.11).

384 The figures in the first volume are comprised mainly of workers; the figures in the second volume shift between Chinese and Japanese, legendary to contemporary, and give an arbitrary feeling.

385 Morikuni was also accused of distributing model-books of the Tosa school in print. I did not pursue this issue further firstly because the arguments are practically similar to those that relate to the Kano school, and secondly because the *Pictures of Agriculture* were not associated with the Tosa repertoire.

386 On the various aspects of secrecy in the Kano school, see: Jordan, 2003. p. 31-59.

387 Tachibana Morikuni in: *Unpitsu sogā* (1749). Translation (with some of my own word) by Jordan, 2003. p.35

school. Takeda Tsuneo³⁸⁸ repeats this commonly accepted tradition, although Asano Shūgō demonstrated that all biographies of Morikuni were actually composed after his lifetime and were not based on historical documentation.³⁸⁹

The fact that Morikuni reproduced a series of *Pictures of Agriculture*, a theme formerly treasured by the Kano school, supports the accusation, but before we accept that Morikuni sold his school's secrets, let us take a closer look at his *Pictures of Agriculture*. This theme was selected to open the first volume (巻之一) of *Tradable Treasures*. The index gives the title “Agricultural work in the four seasons” and unlike other titles, it is followed by an explanation: “Ancient Chinese events of farming activities are drawn beautifully and in detail from ‘soaking the seeds’ to ‘inserting [them] into the storehouse’.”³⁹⁰ The agricultural activities mentioned refer to the original Song-dynasty tradition that was reproduced in Japan by Kano painters, like the scroll attributed to Liang Kai (indeed a secret model of the Kano school) and Kano Einō's book of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*. The inclusion of these stages of the process does therefore suggest that Morikuni studied with the Kano school. On the other hand, the actual illustrations (figure 60 - 61.12) depict Japanese figures and the motifs and the activities are quite distant from the earlier Chinese works.

Given this background, one may expect to see similarities between Morikuni's work and the Japanized images by Kano painters. For example, we may expect to find images like those of

388 Takeda, 1995. p. 246-7. His approach is repeated by many, for example: Namiki, 2001. p. 77; Kōno Motoaki. 1992. The Workshop System of the Kano School of Painting. In *Competition and Collaboration: Hereditary Books in Japanese Culture*, edited by J. Rosenfeld. Boston: Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum. p. 26.

389 Asano Shūgō 浅野秀剛. 1985. Morikuni to sono Monryū 守国とその門流. *Ukiyoe geijutsu* 浮世絵芸術 82:24-26, 83:13-17, 84:11-15.

390 My translation. Text transcribed in: Ōta Shōko 太田昌子. 2006. Ehon/edehon/jobatsu: gadai honkoku shiryōshū (miteikō) 絵本・絵手本・序跋・画題翻刻資料集 (未定稿). In *Ehon/Edehon symposium (special supplement)* 絵本・絵手本シンポジウム 特別付録. Kanazawa: Kanazawa Technological University 金沢美術工芸大学. n.p.

the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest* of the Fukuoka Municipal Museum (figure 48), since it was presumably produced in the same workshop where Morikuni studied. Indeed, the two works depict similar activities, like planting and threshing, and pay special attention to figures of women and children. One detail in the work further suggests that Morikuni knew the *Scroll of Abundant Harvest*. The text that accompanies the scroll mentions a game like “treat or trick,” where children threaten to let turtles loose in the freshly planted paddies unless they are treated to roasted seeds.³⁹¹ Morikuni’s fourth image (figure 61.4) depicts three boys handing a turtle to older farmers who are about to seed a paddy. While the Fukuoka copy emphasizes local rituals and ceremonies, Morikuni’s work details diverse agrarian activities, focuses on technology, and conveys different atmosphere.

The texts that accompany the *Tradable Treasures* do not refer to former models. In fact, they are said to “describe honestly and truthfully a year-round view of the outskirts of Osaka.”³⁹² Under the title “Pictures of Japanese Agriculture,” Morikuni or his publisher³⁹³ wrote: “The people of this society eat rice from the time they were born, and even if they are not farmers they should know the conditions of rice production. But those who do not live in an agricultural village cannot see the process leading from growth to storage.”³⁹⁴ This claim brings to mind the narrative we witnessed in the *Complete Book of Agriculture*, in which the author appropriated Chinese knowledge and reformulated it within the ideological framework of the shogunate and the economic needs of his audience. This tendency is also apparent in the visual arena. Namely,

391 Machida Municipal Museum, 2000. p. 86. I am grateful to Ōshimo Junzo for his help in translating the scroll.

392 Reizei et al., 1996. p. 105.

393 The ten volumes of the series *Tradable Treasures* were published by the commercial publisher Kashiwaraya Seiemon (柏原屋清右衛門) in 1729. Kornicki mentions that this series was republished in 1780 by the same publisher in *kabusebōri* technique (in which a new plate was carved based on an earlier print). The later editions are not completely identical to the original and seem to include an index, which was not included in the original. See Kornicki, 1998. p. 50. Note that this may be a later publisher using the same name.

394 Reizei et al., 1996. p. 105.

Morikuni's *Pictures of Agriculture* and former images are visually closer to the *Complete Book of Agriculture* than to any of the works by Kano artists. Both images depict generic figures plowing, planting, transplanting, seeding, irrigating, harvesting, threshing, husking, and storing their goods. Relying on visual comparison and circumstantial evidence, it is not too far-fetched to suggest that *Complete Book of Agriculture* - not the Kano models - was a primary source for Morikuni's *Pictures of Agriculture*.

4.1.5 Illustrated Encyclopedias as Painters' Manuals

It is within the larger background of imports of books to Japan and their integration into the burgeoning Japanese print industry that we should assess the connection between Morikuni's work and scholarly books of Chinese origin like the *Complete Book of Agriculture*. Many other scholastic compendia, lexicons, encyclopedias and manuals arrived on Japanese shores and were purchased by whomever could afford them; these were later distributed among the elite and intellectuals, who often reworked them into Japanese variations. The books reflect the scientific approach of the time, often detailing lengthy listings of terms, which are loosely categorized according to ancient concepts derived from the Confucian worldview.

These illustrated encyclopedias attract the attention of contemporary scholars because they reflect the early modern world of knowledge and because they detail the cultural constructs that served to convey reality. These encyclopedias thus provide mental maps to early modern culture. Recent studies in English have looked at the geographical texts and noted trends of

identity vis-à-vis foreigners.³⁹⁵ In the case of agrarian knowledge, the Sino-Japanese compendia reflect social division, and a pragmatic approach combined with a fascination with the technological. They contributed significantly to the development of early modern science in Japan and, at the same time, were used as painting manuals, as in the case I detail below.

The earliest Japanese illustrated encyclopedia *Kinmō zui* (訓蒙図彙, Illustrated encyclopedia for popular use)³⁹⁶ was published in 1666. The author, Nakamura Tekisai (仲村惕斎, 1629-1702), was a self-taught Confucian scholar of *chōnin* descent.³⁹⁷ Beginning in the Genroku era, guidebooks on various subjects were published for merchants and were used as tools for self-cultivation. There is, however, evidence that the *Kinmō zui* was read by the elite: shogun Tsunayoshi (1646-1709) showed the book to the head of the Dutch mission and the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) introduced the book in his encyclopedia of Japan.³⁹⁸ But in fact Nakamura based his large compendium on similar Chinese works, such as the Ming-dynasty *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Three Elements* (see below), which was a major inspiration for many other works.

The *Wakan sansai zue* (和漢三才図絵, Japanese-Chinese Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Three Elements) (figure 62) was another household encyclopedia. It maintained its

395 Particularly influential in this trend is Ronald Toby. See for example: Ronald P. Toby. 2001. Three Realms/ Myriad Countries: An "Ethnography" of the Other and the Re-bounding of Japan 1550-1750 In *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, edited by K. W. Chow, K. M. Doak and P. Fu. An Arbor: Michigan University Press. p. 15-46.

396 "Kinmōzui" In: *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten (electronic dictionary)*, 2006.

397 For the biography of Nakamura Tekisai, see: Robert Cornell Armstrong. 1914. *Light from the East: Studies in Japanese Confucianism*. Toronto: University of Toronto. p. 78-83. Accordingly, the admiration for Nakamura's erudition was mixed with criticism of his lacking communication skills and ability to contribute to society by Confucian standards.

398 Mentioned briefly in: Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey. 1988. Kaempfer Restor'd. *Monumenta Nipponica* 43 (1):1-33. p. 11.

popularity from its first publication in 1713 (正徳3年) until late into the Meiji period.³⁹⁹ The author, Terajima Ryōan (寺島良安, dates unknown), an Osaka physician, based the Chinese compendium on the *Sancai tuhui* (三才圖繪, 1609, Illustrated encyclopedia of the three elements) compiled by Wang Qi (王圻, 1529-1612).⁴⁰⁰ The three elements in the title refer to heaven, earth, and humans, a division reflecting the Chinese epistemological system. Accordingly, the 108 chapters of the compendium cover topics like astrology, geography, zoology, botany, and technology. Written in accessible language, the Japanese book served as a useful source of learning, and as a source of inspiration for authors and artists.⁴⁰¹ Despite devoting many pages to mythological creatures, the book included updated scientific knowledge, making it today a useful source for the study of Edo period trends and knowledge.

In 1719 (Kyōho 4), another encyclopedia entered the Japanese market. It was titled *Morokoshi kinmō zui* and the author was Hiraizumi Senan (平住専庵, dates unknown), a Confucian scholar and an herbalist who authored several textbooks.⁴⁰² The illustrations were done by Tachibana Morikuni. This encyclopedia catered to the less educated, women and children in particular, so the illustrations and texts are very simple. Throughout most of the work, the illustrations take as much space as the explanatory comments. Volume number nine, one of

399 For an online copy of the 1901 edition, see the National Diet Library website: <http://kindai.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/992482/> (accessed April 2010). The *Wakan sanzai zue* kept changing also during Terajima's lifetime, as he kept adding new volumes to the encyclopedia for thirty years. See: Marcia Yonemoto. 2003. *Mapping early modern Japan: space, place, and culture in the Tokugawa period, 1603-1868*, Asia-Local studies/global themes 7. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 107.

400 Terajima also inserted information from Dutch sources (which is irrelevant for agricultural images). See: Yonemoto, 2003. p. 14. For more details about this book: Amy Vladeck Heinrich. 1997. *Currents in Japanese culture: translations and transformations*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 230-231. For a reprint of the original Chinese encyclopedia, see: Wang Qi 王圻, and Wang Siyi 王思義. 1995 (originally published 1609). *San cai tu hui* 三才圖會. In *Xu xiu Si ku quan shu* 續修四庫全書. Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she 上海古籍出版社.

401 Yonemoto, 2003. p. 11, 106.

402 For a full reproduction of the series with short explanations, see the Kyushu University digital archives: <http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/karakinmou/top.html> (accessed April 2010).

the four volumes dedicated to tools (器用, Jp. kiyō), details devices used for agriculture and sericulture. These include simple woven baskets alongside fantastic irrigation instruments with abundant pinwheels (figure 63) and various spinning machines (figure 65). The artistic innovation Morikuni displayed in his later painters' manuals is not present here, since the illustrations in the *Illustrated Encyclopedia of Things Chinese* are based on earlier encyclopedias. In fact, some of the illustrations are simple reproductions of the Chinese *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Three Elements* (cf. figure 66 and figure 65). Morikuni could have copied the illustrations of the simple tools from various local agricultural manuals,⁴⁰³ but the more sophisticated machines did not enter the Japanized manuals. In fact, these were probably imaginary tools created so Japanese readers would marvel at Chinese sophistication (figure 64).⁴⁰⁴

Comparing the depiction of agricultural tools in the *Three Elements* and *Pictures of Agriculture*, Kōno Michiaki convincingly argued that many eighteenth-century artists used this encyclopedia as a model book. For example, Chinese agricultural tools appear in landscape paintings by Yosa Buson (与謝蕪村, 1716-1783)(figure 67),⁴⁰⁵ Kusumi Morikage (久隅守景, ca. 1620-1690) (figure 68), Kano Sokuyo (狩野即誉, 18th c.), the Kyoto painter Tokuriki Zensetsu

403 Many agrarian manuals were published in Japan during the Edo period. Often they combined excerpts from known manuals, such as the *Complete Book of Agriculture*, with additional local specification. Not all of them were illustrated, but many carried some simple sketches. For the history of agrarian manuals, see: Kandatsu Haruki 神立春樹. 2003/3/31. Nihon no edojidai no nōsho: sono rekishiteki igi 日本の江戸時代の農書: その歴史的意義 [A study on the Historical Significance of *Nōsho*, Agricultural Book of the Edo Period of Japan]. *Nisho-Gakusha University journal of the Oriental Research Institute* 二松學舎大學東洋學研究所集刊 33:73-93.

404 Only in the early nineteenth century the Japanese scientist Kume Tsuken (久米通賢, 1780-1841) attempted to reconstruct the irrigation wheel that is depicted in the *Wakan sanzai zue* (Yulia Frumer, personal communication 2009/10/1).

405 Hoshino Suzu suggested that Buson relied here on the late Ming Dynasty painting manual *Lidai Minggong Huapu* (also known as *Gushi Huapu*) which has an image of a Chinese winnow (唐箕, Jp. tōmino). (Yoshizawa Chū, and Hoshino Suzu. 1980. Yosa Buson. Vol. 19, *Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū* Tokyo: Shūeisha. III. 53). However, this manual does not carry other agrarian vignettes as Buson's painting does, and a comparison of Buson's irrigation and plowing vignettes suggests that he used a Japanese manual. Kōno thinks it is the *Wakan Sanzai Zue*, (Reizei et al., 1996.p. 99) but the plowing scene rather show similarities to Ishikawa Tomonobu's *Yamato Kōsaku eshō* (大和耕作絵抄, ca. 1703).

(1731-1786, 徳力善雪) (figure 67),⁴⁰⁶ and Tachibana Morikuni.⁴⁰⁷ These artists had some Kano training (with Tan'yū or his disciples) that is apparent in their usage of manuals and models. Later, however, they worked primarily outside the workshop, which allowed them more freedom to experiment and adapt the agrarian theme. Additionally, this usage may attest to the growing need of professional painters to use visual sources beyond the basic models they accumulated as students. This need could be related to their lack of access to art collections, which traditionally inspired official artists in the Kano and Tosa schools. It may also reflect intellectual trends among artists and their clientele, and a growing interest in the new, exciting information contained in scientific books.

4.1.6 *The Mustard Seed Garden and Japanese Manuals*

Morikuni's appreciation of *The Mustard Seed Garden Paintings Manual* (芥子園畫傳, 1679-1701, Ch. *Jieziyuan huazhuan* Jp. *Kaishien gaden*) was probably one of the initiatives that led him to publish his own series of painters' manuals.⁴⁰⁸ This manual played a vital role in the dispersion of literati painting techniques among professional painters in China and in Japan. The method of the *Mustard Seed Garden* was paradigmatic and practical, but the work was written in a lyrical manner well-rooted in Confucian philosophy. These qualities appealed to amateur and professional painters of the time and are part of the reason the *Mustard Seed Manual* is still

406 Reizei et al., 1996. p. 99. Note that despite the understanding that the artists appropriated vignettes from manuals, their paintings are still associated with the times that the artists worked in the countryside. Similarly to Morikage, Sokuyo worked in Kanazawa, and Buson's work is attributed to the period he worked in the Tango domain (north of today's Kyoto prefecture)(Yoshizawa and Hoshino, 1980.p. 141).

407 Reizei et al., 1996. p. 99.

408 For an English translation, see: Sze Mai-mai, and Wang Gai. 1957. *The tao of painting, a study of the ritual disposition of Chinese painting; with a translation of the Chieh tzu yüan hua chuan; or, Mustard Seed Garden manual of painting, 1679-1701, Bollingen series 49*. [New York]: Pantheon Books.

popular today.⁴⁰⁹ The Japanese version was published in 1748,⁴¹⁰ but clearly Japanese painters used it much earlier. The Machida International Print Museum catalog (1990), still the most comprehensive publication regarding the influence of Chinese manuals on Japanese painters, refers to this book among the most influential manuals of the early modern period.⁴¹¹ This catalog, like most other publications, links the manual with painters in the literati style (Jp. *bunjinga*), such as Ike Taiga, Yosa Buson, and Tanomura Chikuden. Careful comparison of images indicates, however, that use of the manual was not limited to any particular school, and that it played a part in the education and practice of artists from different backgrounds, including individualists Soga Shohaku (曾我松柏, 1730-1781) and Itō Jakuchū (伊藤若冲, 1716-1800) and print artists Tachibana Morikuni and Ōoka Shunboku (大岡春朴, 1680-1763). In fact, some of the Chinese compositions were first distributed through the mediation of the Japanese print artists rather than through the original book, which may have been harder to obtain.⁴¹² In a recent article, Yoshida Rie demonstrated the similarity between the *Mustard Seed Garden* and Morikuni's illustrations in *Tradable Treasures* and *The Bush Warbler* (figure 69).⁴¹³

409 Julia Murray explained the use of the *Mustard Seed Garden* was a practical embodiment of the ideal of the literati. She wrote: "[...] literati practices were turned into conventional formulas and widely disseminated through printed manuals of painting, such as the encyclopedic *Jiezi yuan huazhuan* ('Mustard seed garden manual of painting', 1679). Available to any painter, these formulas enabled even the most commercial artist to pretend that he was merely 'lodging his ideas' in painting, a frequent occurrence in late Qing and Republic-period painting" (Julia Murray et al. "Confucianism." In *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T019025> (accessed January 11, 2010)).

410 Richard Louis Edmonds, et al. "Japan." In *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T043440pg45> (accessed January 11, 2010).

411 Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990. Vol. 2, p. 10-12.

412 The painter Okuhara Seiko (奥原晴湖, 1837-1913) was recorded to have borrowed the manual from the painter Shimomura Kanzan (下村観山, 1873-1930) in order to copy every image. This detail testifies that the book was not easily obtained (Victoria Louise Weston, and Martha J. McClintock. 2003. Okuhara Seiko: A Case of Funpon Training in Late Edo Literati Paintings In *Copying the master and stealing his secrets: talent and training in Japanese painting*, edited by B. G. Jordan and V. L. Weston. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.p. 120-121.)

413 Yoshida Eri 吉田恵理 2007. "Sansui" gahu no shomondai: "Kashien gaden" wakoku no keii to [Yuan Shang Yu jiang] "Sansui kikan" o rei ni 『山水』画譜の諸問題—『芥子園画伝』和刻の経緯と淵上旭江『山水奇観』を例に—. In *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imeji kakumei : ehon/edehon shinpojiumu hōkokusho* 江戸の出

In conclusion, Morikuni composed his *Pictures of Agriculture* using several visual sources:⁴¹⁴ Kano models, their later Japanizations, and printed Chinese and Japanese books.⁴¹⁵ It is impossible to match all pieces in this puzzle, but clearly Morikuni compiled his illustrations from several sources—a technique that characterizes Kano-school education. Morikuni’s manuals were used by later painters for exactly the same reason - as an “open source” for creating new images. It is worth noting that although this process seems to be almost “natural” in the eyes of Japanese art historians, the fact that the artists themselves acknowledged the process of “copying” (写) as we will see in the next paragraphs, may indicate that it was not a default selection.

4.2 MORIKUNI’S INTRODUCTION TO THE *TRADABLE TREASURES*

In the above analysis, Tachibana Morikuni is portrayed as a product of his time, a man who skillfully combined his knowledge of artworks with developing printing techniques to manufacture best-selling manuals that suited the demands of the local markets. Reading Morikuni’s own words, however, reveals that the production of his manuals was more complex. Although aware of the economic implications of using manuals, he is humble about his own ability and passionate about art production. Below I offer a close reading of the preface and

版文化から始まったイメージ革命：絵本・絵手本シンポジウム報告書, edited by Ōta Shōko 太田昌子. Kanazawa: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyūkai 金沢芸術学研究会. p. 73-83.

414 Morikuni (and other painters) were primarily influenced by printed visual sources and not by actual agrarian tools and activities. These had a minor influence, if any, in the process of selecting motifs. The role of model-books was far more influential.

415 Two such Japanized manuals are the *Jinrin Kinmō zui* (人倫訓蒙図彙 Illustrated encyclopedia of human relations, 1690) and the *Yamato kōsaku eshō* (大和耕作絵抄, Illustrated compilation of Japanese agriculture, ca. Genroku era). They depict the annual agricultural process in a form of series (尽くし, Jp. *zūkushi*) of human behavior throughout the seasons. The history and usage of both books require further research.

introduction to the *Tradable Treasures* to suggest that the dissemination of the *Pictures of Agriculture* in this book occurred within an intellectual discourse concerning reproduction. This discourse went beyond economic issues and was linked to philosophical and aesthetic trends.⁴¹⁶

The Illustrated Edition of Tradable Treasures opens with a preface signed by the *haikai* poet Shiinomoto Saimaro⁴¹⁷ (1656-1738, 椎本才麿), and an introduction by Morikuni himself. Shiinomoto wrote:

When a person who sucks the brush and mixes the ink does not add the flavor of the deep and pure, then he still does not get the spirit of the essence of naturalness (the essence of things; 天真). Therefore, even though a thousand years already passed since [the Tang artist] Mo Jie (namely Wang Wei) painted his landscapes, and [the Song-dynasty artist] Su Zi (namely Su Shi or Su Dongpo) painted his ink bamboos—still there is no equal [to their work]. Surely painting techniques can visually show before our eyes the past that we cannot see, and convey all the mountains and rivers, herbs and trees, birds, animals, insects and fish from other countries that we cannot visit. Art thus steals the skillfulness of the gods in creating the heaven and earth, and lets out the secrets of the creation—this is only natural. In China, from the Jin and Tang dynasties onwards, from the royalty and nobility to the regular people, there were no few people who were talented painters. And in Japan—

There are also many painters. Tachibana Morikuni of Osaka became famous for his paintings. This Morikuni, one day, carried his paintings over here and told me ‘in the past I illustrated and published the “Illustrated Ancient Tales” and the “Illustrated Bag of Copied Treasures” which were republished several times. Recently I painted the part I missed [in the former series of manuals], and already completed it. I will also publish it as

416 The prefaces are written in *kanbun* (with *kundoku*), a writing style that aimed at the highly educated. The following index is written, however, in Japanese and *furigana*. The latter writing style suggests that the book was constructed to cater to more than just one kind of audience, probably for marketing reasons.

417 Shiinomoto studied with famous authors and *haikai* poets: Ihara Saikaku (井原西鶴, 1642-1693) in Osaka and possibly with Matsuo Bashō (松尾芭蕉, 1644-1694) or his disciples in Edo. Shiinomoto was of Morikuni's generation, and lived in Osaka since 1689, thus it is not surprising that the two cooperated. This connection may also suggest of Morikuni's artistic milieu. For Shiinomoto's short biography, see: Miner, Earl Roy. 1985. *The Princeton companion to classical Japanese literature*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. p. 229.

*a keepsake for the future generations. Therefore I would like to ask you a favor: would you write the introduction for me?” I unrolled the paintings and observed them slowly and carefully, then told him: “Ah, you must be joking. Your brush technique has a very lively spirit resonance; the minuteness with which you managed the reproductions has clearly grown more and more refined. Your images must have achieved the hand of gods. They are on a different level than [images by] certain people who call themselves painters and simply smear paint in a crude manner. These works would not only be a tradable treasures for painters, but would function to correct the mistakes of painters, [such as typically occur when] painting tigers they have not seen. But why is it necessary that someone like me writes the introduction?” Yet he insisted and thus I had no choice and so I wrote [these words] in the edge of the book.*⁴¹⁸

This introduction is rooted within the Sino-Japanese intellectual traditions, and describes a fascinating hybrid of Chinese classicism and contemporaneous Osaka culture. Shiinomoto begins with general statements about the power of art and offers specific examples to display his knowledge of famous Chinese painters. He uses aesthetic concepts that are derived from Chinese treatises – such as “flavor” (趣), “naturalness” (天真), and “spirit resonance” (氣韻) – but builds up to his statement on concepts that are identified with Japan: the gods and their creation of the heaven and earth. Painting, accordingly, imitates the creation of the gods. Art creation thus elevates to a transcendent act since it is capable of surpassing the limitations of the body. Thus, through art one can visualize “other countries that we cannot visit.” Perhaps Shiinomoto is implying here that books can overcome the regulations forbidding Japanese citizens to go overseas.⁴¹⁹ Shiinomoto shifts from China to Japan in an abrupt manner, a convention of scholastic writing of the time. He claims that, while in China no artist surpassed certain Tang and

418 My translation is based on Kōno, 2000. p.23-24. I am grateful to Oshimo Junzo for his help.

419 Note that the book was published during the Kyōho era (1716-1735), when the eighth shogun Yoshimune (吉宗, 1684-1751) raised many bans on importing books.

Song painters, in Japan we have the Osaka painter Morikuni (in addition to many other talented artists in both countries). For Shiinomoto, Morikuni's oeuvre is thus linked to a Chinese pedigree and his Japanese sources are downplayed. He completely ignores the names of past Japanese masters such as Sesshu and Tan'yū. This is such a bold statement that one cannot but wonder if it reflects Shiinomoto's *haikai*-like humor.⁴²⁰ A disciple of the novelist Ihara Saikaku (井原西鶴, 1642–1693), Shiinomoto might have put deliberate stress on Osaka culture and on making surprising associations. Later, Shiinomoto shifts the subject again to share with the readers his personal acquaintance with Morikuni. The anecdote of the artist's request is used to convey an overtly commercial message about Morikuni's superiority over other painters and the book's money-making potential. Shiinomoto's reluctance to write an introduction may be a statement of obligatory humbleness, but it may also be related to the relationship between the two men.

The preface by Shiinomoto is followed by an introduction by Morikuni. He wrote:

It is said in the Analects that "the making of a painting is after a white [surface is prepared]" (Ch. 繪事後素).⁴²¹ Confucius (孔聖) used these words to reply to Zixia (子夏). These words suggest that painting has very long history.⁴²² There are six laws to painting:⁴²³ "spirit resonance, vital movement"; "bone method, using the brush"; "fidelity to the object in portraying form"; "conformity to kind in applying colors"; "proper planning in placing"; "transmission through copying." [Painting] was never a matter of haste and simple brushwork [and thus should be seen as linked to larger concepts. For example:] The forms on top represent the heaven. The forms at the bottom represent the

420 Influenced by Zen, *haikai* aesthetics tends to spontaneous linking of the crude and the elitist.

421 For the interpretation of the original phrase, see footnote 225.

422 The writer's intention is unclear. It can refer the ancient history of painting practices, or to the theoretical discussions of the making of paintings that has continued for long time.

423 Morikuni quotes here the famous six laws of Xie He. I am using here Susan Bush's translation. For further information of the concepts, see for example: Susan Bush, et al. "China: Painting Theory and Criticism." In *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T016513pg16> (accessed January 11, 2010).

earth. The shapes in-between are human figures.⁴²⁴ Humans are capable of observing the astronomical alterations, the mysteries of the earth, the movements of birds and beasts, and the growing and withering of herbs and trees. [Then] licking the brush and moistening its thin edge, they reproduce (写す) the things listed here with enchanting naturalness (天真). This is the wonderful power (妙) of painting.⁴²⁵ Reflecting on these Japanese and Chinese examples, the number of people who became famous due to such paintings is incalculable. Even if a painting is [merely] a tiny piece of paper or silk, people hold it as a secret treasure. This is definitely only the case with paintings. [And thus] my heart suffered in the creation of paintings, and there went my years, but—how embarrassing—art is so difficult to reach. [Therefore] I cannot endure tossing away the paintings I created when I had put my heart into my everyday practice. I forgot that these were but the product of stubbornness, and submitted them to the carver's block. Probably the people would say that I am crazy and refuse to grant [my work].⁴²⁶ These are only useful for children, and in no way a comparison to the illustrated books that are around. But if the readers of this book would get the meaning of the words that Confucius preached to Zixia, and if they would know that—[similarly to the way the abstract notion of] propriety (禮) is certainly made into substance by loyalty and sincerity⁴²⁷ [so are] paintings certainly made by the first layering of white gofun—then my flawed publication conveys the teaching of the Sage, and is not without assistance to the brush of painters. Therefore I wrote this thing down in the introduction.

Signed: Tachibana Morikuni, painter (後素軒橘守国).⁴²⁸

424 Morikuni is saying here that representation is the result of a philosophical (Confucian) approach, not only of visual perception of the physical world; the reason why the human figure is depicted between the heaven above and the earth below is because these two forces generate the human world. Kōno explained this sentence somewhat differently: in-between heaven and earth is the most important thing: people (Kōno, 2000. p. 26). Kōno's translation carries further philosophical implications.

425 My choice of terms is indebted to Susan Bush, and Hsio-yen Shih. 1985. *Early Chinese texts on painting*. Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press. p. 352-354.

426 Literally: will not endure to offer a grant. Namely, will not buy my books.

427 謂禮必以忠信為質也. This sentence is a paraphrase on the Song-Dynasty philosopher Zhu Xi (朱子) who indicated that “through etiquette loyalty becomes into substance” (禮以忠信為質). Namely, etiquette is the concretization of loyalty (which is an abstract ideal) (I am grateful to Han Jiayao for helping me search for this quote). Zhu Xi's philosophy was the base for rule of the shoguns, thus Morikuni's familiarity with the phrase and the application of the Neo Confucian view to the practice of painting may indicate his political affiliation.

428 My translation, based on Kōno, 2000. p. 25-26. I am grateful to Ōshimo Junzo for his help.

Like Shiinomoto's preface, the introduction by Morikuni is comprised of Sino-Japanese erudition, personal stories and humble phrases, but Morikuni's writing conveys more profound scholarship and sincerity. Morikuni begins with a phrase from the *Analects* regarding the making of a painting. This ancient reference to painting techniques was also key in the theoretical treatises about art and artists (画論, Jp. *garon*) by earlier Japanese artists: Kano Ikkei's (狩野一溪, 1599-1662) treatise "Kōsoshū" (後素集, 1623,; collection of paintings) and Hayashi Razan's (林羅山, 1585-1657) "Kōsosetsu" (後素説, n.d.,; explanation of painting).⁴²⁹ Thus, using the term "kōso," Morikuni linked himself both to Chinese classics and to Japanese intellectuals who worked closely with the shogunal administration.⁴³⁰ Next, Morikuni mentions the *Six Laws* (六法) of painting, as they were articulated by the aesthetician and painter Xie He (謝赫, fl. late 5th c. -early 6th c.). Morikuni does not elaborate on these complicated laws, as if to assume that his readers are well-versed in theoretical writings about art. It is important for him to stress that painting goes beyond questions of technique and, like Shiinomoto, he relates that copying the shapes of nature is an act of creation. Morikuni refers here to earlier theoretical writings, and considering that he writes for a knowledgeable audience, it seems that Morikuni is taking a stand in the contemporaneous discourse concerning the functions of reproduction. Although in the following pages Morikuni is offering his readers a series of reproductions to be copied, he refers

429 For a discussion of these treatises, see: Brown, Kendall Huber. 1994. The politics of aesthetic reclusion: The Seven Sages and Four Graybeards in Momoyama painting, *History of Art*, Yale University. Vol. 2. p. 2-21. Like Ikkei, Morikuni combined theoretical observations with lists of paintings. Both Ikkei and Morikuni probably modeled their books after Chinese manuals.

430 The Tokugawa shoguns linked themselves with the Confucian traditions in order to solidify their political legitimacy (see: Herman Ooms. 1998. *Tokugawa ideology: early constructs*, 1570-1680, Michigan classics in Japanese studies ; no. 18. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Center for Japanese Studies University of Michigan). As the official painters of the shogunate, the Kano school conveyed the political-philosophical messages through artistic choices (see: Gerhart, Karen M. 1999. *The eyes of power art and early Tokugawa authority*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.)

to paintings in general as the result of observing nature. As such, images reflect the quality of naturalness and they are therefore equal to nature. In other words, like other righteous acts, painting is a tool through which the true essence of things is given shape and turns from abstract energy into substance. Since a painting may carry the true essence of all things, observing a painting is an elevating act of immeasurable merit: paintings are to be treasured regardless of their size or material of manufacture. That is the reason why Confucius discussed paintings with his disciples and why Morikuni is humbly following the great master in offering assistance for painters who observe heaven and earth and then reproduce what they see.

Morikuni's rationale reflects Confucian notions. Indeed, behaving in the spirit of the ancient sages, who embodied the true essence of nature, is a virtue to which one should aspire. The Confucian virtues were promoted as models of desired conduct during the Tokugawa period, but an individual who drew comparisons between him or herself and Confucius might have been considered a megalomaniac. Perhaps, in order to avoid this accusation, Morikuni offers a touching confession of insecurity. In fact, he admits, that his own paintings do not contain that true essence; his failed attempts are merely the result of stubborn practice. His anxiety that the illustrations might be considered "books for children" because they fall short of other illustrated books testifies to the qualities attributed to books that circulated at the time. Illustrated books of lesser artistic qualities for children and painting manuals of superior quality for painters. His own book, he modestly suggests, surpasses the latter not for its varied imagery but because it may support the embodiment of Confucian virtues.

As mentioned above, the texts by Shiinomoto Saimaro and Morikuni testify to their authors' erudition and show, too, that their readers were knowledgeable of Chinese art. Morikuni's knowledge of things Chinese can be attributed to his Kano-school education since, as

a Kano disciple, he had access to theoretical writings by Kano masters and rare Chinese manuals that were otherwise unavailable. At the same time, the manner in which Shiinomoto used Chinese names suggests that audiences outside painting circles were expected to recognize Chinese names and concepts like “spirit resonance.” This knowledge was already in the public domain thanks to both Chinese books and to earlier Japanese *garon*, such as the *Tōhaku’s Explanations of paintings* (等伯画説, 1592) and Hayashi Moriatsu’s (林守篤 (fl. early 18th c.) *Gasen* (画筌, 1712-1720, net of painting).⁴³¹ In other words, Morikuni’s work displays many similarities with the working process and training philosophy of the Kano school. At the same time, Morikuni did not reveal the school’s secret traditions (秘伝書) by exposing unknown manuals and treatises, since these have been published in different sources beforehand.

According to Hinohara Kenji, while Morikuni’s book should be viewed along the same lines as Hayashi Moriatsu’s manual *Gasen* and bears many resemblances to this earlier work, there is a difference between them in the way Morikuni saw the role of illustrated books. For Morikuni, a book should be primarily useful.⁴³² An artist should be able to acquire truth from a book and apply it. Morikuni might have adapted this practical approach when using the *Sancai tuihui* to illustrate the *Morokoshi kinmō zui*, since he alludes here to encyclopedic categorization when he comments that “humans are capable of observing the astronomical alterations, the mysteries of the earth, the movements of birds and beasts, and the growing and withering of

431 Additional *garon* were published by Ōoka Shunboku and Nishikawa Sukenobu (西川祐信, 1671-1751), who published illustrated manuals in Kansai at the same time of Tachibana. It is most likely that Morikuni knew these men and was acquainted with their publications. (The texts of Shunboku and Sukenobu appear in: Sakazaki Shizuka, 坂崎坦. 1927. *Nihon garon taikan* 日本画論大観. 2 vols. Tokyo: Arusu. For a concise survey of *garon*, see: JAANUS. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/%7Ejaanus/>. Accessed: 11 January 2010).

432 Hinohara Kenji 日野原健司. 2007. Tachibana Morikuni no ehon: kaiga ni yoru "chi" to "shin" no dentatsu 橘守国の絵本: 絵画による“智”と“真”の伝達. In *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imeji kakumei : ehon edehon shinpojiumu hokokusho* 江戸の出版文化から始まったイメージ革命: 絵本・絵手本シンポジウム報告書, edited by Ōta Shōko 太田昌子. Kanazawa: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyūkai 金沢芸術学研究会.p. 99-106.

herbs and trees.” Such encyclopedias, partially due to the influence of European science, called for practical learning and combined it with the Confucian virtue of understanding the ways of heaven and earth in order to improve society.

The distribution of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* outside the Kano school circles during the eighteenth century was not just related to Morikuni’s project. New editions of this series were reprinted in China beginning in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and imported to Japan. Due perhaps to its novel style, the influence of the Qing series among painters during the eighteenth century was less than that of Morikuni’s books. Nevertheless, I choose to digress here and discuss this publication, first because it sheds light on new developments in printing culture, and second because this series influenced nineteenth-century print masters, particularly during the Meiji period when the Western style became the desired norm in print.⁴³³

4.2.1 Kangxi Imperial Edition of Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture

Japanese painters’ interest in Chinese books expanded to new territory with the importation of the *Kangxi yuzhi gengzhitu* (康熙御製耕織圖, *Kangxi Imperial Edition of Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, 1696). The book was one of the first to combine Chinese themes and figures with “Western” perspective.

⁴³³ For Meiji prints with Kanxi-edition influence, see for example: Atsugi-shi Kyodō shiryōkan 厚木市郷土資料館, ed. 2003. *Nōgu kara nōkigu he: ryūtsū mingu ga gataru mono* 農具から農機具へ: “流通民具”が語るもの. Vol. 第六回特別展: Atsugi-shi Kyōiku linkai 厚木市教育委員会.

Through the twelfth century, the tradition of *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* as a figure-painting theme, continued within Chinese imperial workshops.⁴³⁴ This tradition took a new role during the Qing dynasty, and each of the first three emperors of the Qing—Kangxi (康熙, 1654-1722),⁴³⁵ Yongzheng (雍正, 1678-1735)⁴³⁶ and Qianlong (乾隆, 1711-1799)⁴³⁷—took special interest in the theme and published their own versions of Lou Shu’s work. The reasons for this renewed interest are beyond the limits of this essay, and seem to be related to the foreign Manchu’s attempts to adopt native Chinese characteristics. Agriculture and sericulture, as we saw in earlier examples, are associated with native traditions, and are easily molded into symbols of righteous rule. Indeed, even the record of Kangxi’s decision to republish the books was constructed to create the impression that the ruler was attentive to ancient Chinese traditions. Accordingly, Emperor Kangxi learned about Lou Shu’s tradition during a visit to Jiangnan province when the local archivist presented him with two Song-dynasty *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* volumes, the *Agricultural Treatises* of Wang Zhen and compilations on sericulture. Impressed by the gifts, Kangxi ordered the court painter Jiao Bingzhen (焦秉貞, fl.

434 For example: *Copy of Song Dynasty Figures: Pictures of Sericulture* (摹宋人《紡織圖》) by the Ming dynasty painter Xia Hou (夏厚), reproduced in: Li Chong 李翀. 2006. *Mingdai Renwuhua jingxuan: guhua jifa xilan* 明代人物画精选-古画技法析览: 浙江人民美术出版社 (本社特价书).

435 For a color reproductions, see: Nathalie Monnet, Bernard Fuhrer, and Pierre-Jean Rémy. 2003. *Le Gengzhitu: le livre du riz et de la soie / poèmes de l'empereur Kangxi ; peintures sur soie de Jiao Bingzhen*. Paris: JC Lattès; Kangxi 康熙, and Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞. 2006 (originally published 1694). Kangxi Yuzhi Gengzhitu 康熙御制耕織圖. Tianjin 天津: Renmin Meishu chubanshe 人民美術出版社.

436 Yongzheng’s version is part of his “masquerade portraits” series. See: Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, and Jessica Rawson. 2005. *China: the three emperors, 1662-1795*. London: Royal Academy of Arts. p. 242-243.

437 Qianlong’s version of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* received the largest amount of scholarly attention in European languages. Although the Kangxi’s version was known in Europe earlier on, it was the copies made by French sinologist Paul Pelliot from the stelae in the Beijing summer palace shortly before the fall of the Qing dynasty that interested scholars. It is perhaps because the Qianlong version is said to be modeled after a Song-Dynasty copy and does not reflect the Western perspective of the Kangxi version. (See: Paul Pelliot. 1913. *A propos du Keng tche t'ou* Vol. Tome I, *Memoires concernant l'asie orientale*. Paris: Ernest Leroux). Interestingly, Qianlong’s stelae of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were recently reconstructed as a tourist attraction in the Garden of the Beijing Summer Palace. The new stelea were modeled after Pelliot’s illustrations.

ca. 1689-1726) to reproduce the pictures.⁴³⁸ Historians of agriculture argue over Jiao Bingzhen's work, questioning the origin of several of his technical mistakes.⁴³⁹ For art historians, however, the interest lies with the book's novel hybridization of a Chinese theme with European perspective.⁴⁴⁰

Jiao Bingzhen was an official in the imperial astronomical observatory, where he served together with Jesuit missionaries who exposed him to Western sciences and Christian imagery. Later becoming a painter of the inner court, he was admired for his Western technique and Kangxi ordered several works from him. According to a later Qing record "[...Kangxi]'s commendation of his painting is accordingly also a commendation of his scholarship in mathematics."⁴⁴¹ The original work – probably colors on silk – is now lost. Fortunately, shortly after its production, it was engraved in woodblock and reprinted in several editions. These copies in color on paper, by contemporary and later imperial painters like Leng Mei (冷枚), Chen Mei (陳枚), and Cheng Yi (成衣), are in the collection of Taipei National Palace Museum.⁴⁴² These were reproduced by court painters. As a Qing source describes, "[Jiao painted] *Pictures of*

438 According to Watabe the books were probably the - now lost – thirteenth century copies of Lou Shu by Wang Gang or Lou Shao (Watabe, 1986. p.14).

439 For the list of mistakes, see Wang Chaosheng 王潮生, ed. 1995. *Farming and Weaving Pictures in Ancient China* 中国古代耕织图 [Zhongguo gu dai geng zhi tu] edited by China Agricultural Museum (Zhongguo nongye bowuguan congshu) 中国农业博物馆编 Beijing: China Agricultural Press (Zhongguo nongye chubanshe). p. 80-81.

440 Ta Hsiang. 1976 (first published 1930). *European Influences on Chinese Art in the Later Ming and Early Ch'ing Period*. In *The Translation of Art: Essays on Chinese Paintings and Poetry Chinese*, edited by C. Y. James: University of Hong Kong.). For the novelty of style see Kobayashi Hiromitsu, 小林 宏光. 2006. Suzhou Prints and Western Perspective: The Painting Techniques of Jesuit Artists at the Qing Court, and Dissemination of the Contemporary Court Style of Painting to Mid-Eighteenth-Century Chinese Society through Woodblock Prints. In *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540-1773*, edited by J. W. O'Malley. Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.p. 262-286.

441 Jiao Bingzhen made his hybrid designs a generation before Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) taught at the Chinese court, making the former's Chinese-Western variations all the more novel. For Qing praises of Jiao's new style, see: Ta, 1976. p. 166-167.

442 For additional Qing adaptations of Jiao Bingzhen's model in the imperial collections, see: Watabe, 1986. p. 15.

Agriculture and Sericulture with hard working farmers, villages and rural scenery in their true perspective. To his Majesty's great satisfaction, the emperor rewarded him handsomely and had the pictures engraved, printed and distributed among his subjects [...]"⁴⁴³ Ta Hsiang added that the reprints were "distributed among officials as a royal favor."⁴⁴⁴

Kangxi published Jiao's pictures with Lou Shu's poems, adding his own preface and poems. It is worth reading his introduction, since it was also inserted into the Japanese editions:

*The most important thing for the people is food and clothing [...] hunger stems from the decline of farming while cold results from the neglect of weaving. [...] when getting dressed, we should think of the cold suffered by women weavers; when having meal, we should think of the suffering of the peasants. [...] we should use the pictures to tell our descendants and subjects as well as the common people that each single grain or piece of cloth comes from suffering and hardship [...] only through teaching the people of the whole world to cherish their respective occupation and be diligent and frugal can ample food and clothing be ensured.*⁴⁴⁵

In these sentences, Kangxi repeats accepted Confucian thought regarding social duties. His words present the pictures as "paintings of admonishing" (觀戒画；鑑戒画) and reflect the Tang-dynasty poems that "each and every grain is hard labor."⁴⁴⁶

The *Kangxi Imperial Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* was brought to Japan in 1725, four years before Morikuni published the *Tradable Treasures*, and was reprinted several times in the Edo period. The Edo *bakufu* also reprinted the book sometime around 1799 and again in 1848.⁴⁴⁷ Additionally, Sakurai Ken (桜井けん), a samurai from Himeji, published this

443 Zhao Geng, "Collection of Court Painters" in: Wang, 1995. p.80.

444 Ta, 1976. p. 169.

445 Wang, 1995. p. 77-78.

446 This call is still echoed in the Japanese homily to finish up all the rice in the bowl.

447 Three more examples illustrate the importance of Jiao's pictures to Edo culture: (1) it became a model-book for the Maruyama-Shijō school (丸山四条), probably due to Maruyama Ōkyo's (丸山応挙, 1733-1795)

book in 1808 after he was impressed by its colored edition in the collection of Kimura Kenkadō (木村兼葭堂, 1735-1802), a *chōnin* scholar and book collector. Sakurai's edition spread so widely that even today copies of it can be found all over Japan. By the end of the eighteenth century, traces of the Kangxi edition were evident in the works of several painters, particularly *bunjin* painters and students of the Maruyama-Shijō school (円山四条派). Examples of Kangxi's influence can be seen in Matsumura Goshun's (松村呉春, 1752-1811) wall paintings at the Nishi-Honganji (西本願寺)(figure 71),⁴⁴⁸ and in the works of Yosa Buson, Watanabe Kazan (渡辺華山, 1793-1841), and Tsubaki Chinzan (1801-1854, 椿椿山).⁴⁴⁹ These works show the painters' continued interest in issues of technology, life in China, and Confucian social organization on the one hand, while conveying their fascination with the Western-style perspective in the works of painters associated with the Maruyama-Shijō school. At the same time, the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, which found their way into woodblock prints thanks to Morikuni's manuals, were given new life in the world of *ukiyo-e*.

4.2.2 Morikuni's vignettes in the works of Harunobu

The woodblock prints by Suzuki Harunobu (鈴木春信, fl. 1765-1770) display an unmatched wealth of multi-layered symbolism and intricacy. His images are rich in iconography,

interest in Western painting techniques. (2) Due to his interest in both Western painting techniques and progressive agricultural techniques the scholar and painter Watanabe Kazan (渡辺華山, 1793-1841) created his own variations on Jiao's book. (3) A scientific compilation published in the beginning of the nineteenth century by monks in Satsuma derived some of its extensive illustrations from Jiao Bingzhen. Jiao's illustrations was reprinted several times during the Meiji period, although they did not maintain their previous popularity, which was linked with its novel western appeal (Watabe, 1986. p. 26-27).

448 Goshun produced similar images for one of the chambers in the Daijōji Temple. For Goshun's folding screens, see: http://museum.daijyoji.or.jp/04sakka/04_01/04_01_04a.html (accessed April 2010).

449 Reizei et al., 1996. p. 98.

which often does not yield itself easily to those who are not fluent in late eighteenth-century popular culture. Still, his contemporaries probably understood his meaning through the same mechanism with which we are able to grasp cartoons in modern newspapers. Like cartoons, Harunobu's images often juxtaposed unassociated worlds, thereby creating a hidden meaning. Because we are blind to the original associations, it is difficult today to elucidate the pun in woodblock prints and many of Harunobu's images are thus a riddle for scholars. Realizing, however, that Morikuni's manuals played a role in the formation of Harunobu's works gives us one more key for their interpretation.

Hoshino Suzu's article "Harunobu and *The illustrated Bag of Treasured Copies*"⁴⁵⁰ demonstrates that Harunobu was influenced directly by Morikuni, and that Harunobu acknowledged this influence himself in his print *The Five Virtues: Loyalty* (figure 72).⁴⁵¹ This brilliant image depicts two young prostitutes chatting on a winter evening. The English term "prostitute" far from conveys the variety of sex workers in Edo. We actually look here at two *iroko*—young boys from the ranks of the *wakashu* who dressed as girls. Their masculinity is implied by the phallic shapes of the candles, by the male mandarin duck painted on the sliding door, and the fringes attached to their *ōbi*.⁴⁵² The topic of the boys' conversation is loyalty, one of the five Confucian virtues. "Loyalty" is the title of the print, and is also suggested by the book held by the crouching boy. He is holding the sixth volume of Morikuni's *Bag of Treasured Copies*, and volumes seven and eight are laid by his knees. The volume is opened to the

450 The importance of the *Bag of Treasured Copies* for painters is demonstrated also by the fact that as late as 1832 (Tenpō 2) this book was mentioned in an art lexicon by Shirai Kayō (白井華陽, early 19th c.). For Shirai, see: Sakazaki, 1927. p. 380.

451 The following page is a summary of Hoshino's article. Hoshino Suzu 星野鈴. 2007. Suzuki Harunobu to "ehon shahō bukuru" 鈴木春信と絵本写宝袋. In *Edo no shuppan bunka kara hajimatta imeji kakumei : ehon edehon shinpojiumu hokokusho* 江戸の出版文化から始まったイメージ革命 : 絵本・絵手本シンポジウム報告書, edited by Ō. S. 太田昌子. Kanazawa: Kanazawa Geijutsugaku Kenkyūkai 金沢芸術学研究会. p. 49-62.

452 The fringes were an attribute of *iroko*. Hoshino, 2007. p. 58.

illustration of Yu Rang stabbing the cloak of Zhao [Wuxu]. This classic Chinese story, based on Sima Qian's (司馬遷, c. 145-85 BCE) *Shiji* (史記, Historical records), describes Yu Rang's extreme fidelity to his master. Yu tried in vain to revenge his master's death, and after he was caught, requested to symbolically stab his enemy's cloak before killing himself. This dramatic story has all the characteristics of a tale created to appeal to the samurai, but it was also a popular subject of the commoners' stage plays. The title of the print theatrically conveys Yu Rang's words: "Many times be my body humbled, [yet] my principle [*li*] shall not be divided, and lie shall I not. This, one must say, is loyalty."⁴⁵³ The association of such pompous words with a young prostitute creates both humor and surprise. On the one hand, the Chinese hero is degraded to the level of a lowly sex worker whose body has indeed been "humbled many times" but, on the other, it elevates the emotion of the *iroko* to the level of a Confucian virtue. The calligraphy over the door reads "pure" (順翠 meaning 純粹) and supports the interpretation that the boy is indeed as loyal as the mandarin duck depicted behind his shoulder. Using Morikuni's illustrations, the boy explains to his friend that, despite his physical disloyalty, indicated by a letter from a client⁴⁵⁴ on the floor, he is still loyal at heart.

This sophisticated juxtaposition of cultural symbols is characteristic of the *fūryū* style (風流) in *ukiyo-e*, where classic scenes were reclothed in updated fashions and created what Timothy Clark termed "brain teasing collisions."⁴⁵⁵ Clearly, the fashionable façade of *fūryū* images is the world of the pleasure quarters, but what about the classic background? What

453 Hoshino, 2007. p. 50.

454 A letter in *ukiyo-e* often represents the exchange of "love letters" between a client and a courtesan. Inspired by courtly literature, this fake expression of fidelity from the side of the courtesan was repeated in pictures and in fiction. This image may be one more joke at the account of the courtesans' "fidelity." Perhaps the boy is merely looking for a clever line for his reply.

455 Timothy T. Clark. 1997. *Mitate-e: Some Thoughts, and a Summary of Recent Writings. Impressions* 19:7-27. p. 9.

inspired the selection of images, which served the audience as a key to the interpretation of the updated scenes? It is accepted that the older images selected for use were easily recognized by literate audiences who frequented the Kabuki theaters and, in the scene described above, Harunobu indicates a specific source for this common visual knowledge: Morikuni's books. In the print the title of the book can be read clearly, which may suggest that the audience was expected to at least recognize the work. Almost fifty years after their initial publication, Morikuni's books were considered "common knowledge" by the audience of Harunobu. Moreover, Harunobu indicates here that he consulted Morikuni's work while building up his composition, and perhaps intended the work to be read as homage to Morikuni.

An additional image in this series of five virtues is titled *Benevolence* (仁) (figure 73). The interior scene focuses on a courtesan decorating the hairdo of a younger girl. Like *Loyalty* above, the bordello scene obtains new meanings when its classical allusions are considered: the standing screen behind the girl refers to the poem "*In the Autumn Fields*" (秋の田) from the Heian period anthology *Hyakunin Isshu* (百人一首, see chapter one).⁴⁵⁶ The screen depicts the poet, Emperor Tenji (天智天皇) concealed behind a screen he gazes at the harvesting farmers and composes a melancholic poem. Although the Emperor is clearly separated from the farmers, his attention to their wretched lives was interpreted as benevolence, as the title of the print suggests (see chapter 2.2.3.3.).⁴⁵⁷ The visual allusion bears resemblance to Morikuni's *Tradable Treasures* (figure 60-61) because in both images, we see a group of three male farmers holding sickles in the midst of harvested rice fields. Yet several discrepancies in the clothing and

456 The poem is discussed in the first chapter (see 2.2.3.3). Joshua S. Mostow. 1992. Painted Poems, Forgotten Words: Poem-Pictures and Classical Japanese Literature. *Monumenta Nipponica* 47 (3):323-346. p. 343.

457 Kobayashi Tadashi 小林忠, Narazaki Muneshige 櫛崎胸重, Ōkubo Junichi 大久保純一, Tanabe Masako 田辺昌子, and Naitō Masato 内藤正人. 1991. *Meihin soroimono ukiyoe: Harunobu* 名品揃い物浮世絵: 春信. Edited by Nihon A-to Senta 日本アート・センター. First ed. 12 vols. Tokyo: Gyōsei. p. 133.

movements suggest that Harunobu might have used a different source. This is likely since illustrated *Hyakunin Isshu* were not rare at the time: Tan'yū himself is known to have illustrated the anthology (figure 74)⁴⁵⁸ and popular editions by the print artist Hishikawa Moronobu (菱川師宣, 1618-1694) had been published since the 1670's (figure 75).⁴⁵⁹ As Joshua Mostow indicated, the differences between the visual interpretations of the poems are due to the differences in their expected audiences: Tan'yū stressed the imperial position of the poet, and allocated a tiny space for the depiction of the fields and hut. Moronobu's illustration of the *Hyakunin Isshu Zōsanshō* (百人一首像讃抄, 1678, Compendium of images and inscriptions from the *One hundred poems by one hundred poets*) gave equal attention to the poet and object of his poem. Moreover, Moronobu's depiction of the harvesting peasants indicates that he agreed with the *kokugaku* scholar Keichū Mabuchi's (契沖真淵, 1640-1701) interpretation that the poem was composed from the viewpoint of the peasants.⁴⁶⁰

Visually, Moronobu's use of farmer figures was similar to those that appeared approximately twenty years later in the *Complete Book of Agriculture* and forty years later in Morikuni's *Tradable Treasures*. This repetition leads to the assumption that Moronobu adapted the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* into printed form earlier than Morikuni. At the same time, there are differences between their adaptations: Morikuni created a pedagogical manual and attempted to maintain the spirit of the Chinese originals, he thus focused on technical procedures while Moronobu seems more interested in drama, humor, and the attractiveness of

458 Joshua S. Mostow. 1996. *Pictures of the heart: the Hyakunin isshu in word and image*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 97. Tan'yū's image and various other illustrated editions of the anthology appear in: <http://www.atomi.ac.jp/daigaku/hyaku/index.html>

459 Mostow, 1996. p. 99. For a copy of Hishikawa's 1680 edition *Ogura Hyakunin Isshu* (小倉百人一首), see: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exhibit60/copy1/2waka.html> (accessed April 2010).

460 Mostow, 1996. p. 34.

the figures and allows himself greater freedom to reuse vignettes in more than one theme. Harunobu followed Moronobu in that respect, but his style is more technically advanced and refined and his messages require a broader cultural knowledge. In this case, Harunobu follows the iconography of Moronobu (and thus Keichū's interpretation) and his reference to *In the Autumn Field* allocates equal weight to the emperor and harvesting farmers.⁴⁶¹ On the other hand, he elaborates on the theme by juxtaposing it with the courtesans, and as a result, the peasants are emphasized by the visual comparison with the figure of the bending courtesan and the thematic association is drawn between her emotions and the emperor's. Harunobu also minimized the figure of the emperor and thus transposed the hierarchical social order that we saw in the earlier illustrations. As is customary in the *ukiyo-e* style, this image portrayed the pleasure quarters as an inverted reflection of the Confucian social order. Understanding this background, Harunobu's decision to refer directly to Morikuni gains additional significance. Is it mere chance that, in a series dedicated to the five Confucian virtues, Harunobu quotes from Morikuni as an epitome of Confucian themes and ideals? Examining the development of the *Pictures of Agriculture* imagery in Edo-period print culture suggests that figures of farmers maintained their initial Confucian messages. These associations adapt the messages found in *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* to the satirical vocabulary of *ukiyo-e* artists. The lingering reference to Morikuni's work in the prints of later painters testifies that despite possible rejection of Morikuni's theories and ideals, his work was greatly appreciated and its pioneering qualities and influence cannot be denied.

461 Additional motifs suggest further layers of iconography. For example: the covered mirror, the patterns on the kimonos (the wave patterns refers to the wet sleeve in the poem?), the sickle (parallel the hairpin), and the discrepancy between the seasons (blooming cherry in the pleasure quarters versus the autumn fields in the screen).

4.2.3 Conclusion

One of the most intriguing questions in the study of *Pictures of Agriculture* is the metamorphosis of this subject from a Chinese imperial painting theme into a Japanese popular icon. In this chapter I discussed how the development of printing techniques influenced the distribution of agrarian vignettes and their readership. While *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* remained within the curriculum of the Kano school, this set of vignettes could no longer be kept as a clandestine model due to the importation of books from China that portrayed similar images. These Chinese books were diverse and included agrarian manuals, encyclopedias, pedagogical works, and painting manuals, and artists borrowed from all of them indiscriminately. Still, this borrowing process was conducted according to certain guidelines. For example, the newly created book illustrations depicted Japanese figures in order to record alleged actual activities in the Japanese countryside. Interestingly, we find similar tendencies in written texts at the time; such books, despite being local adaptations of Chinese editions, were marketed as the direct experiences of their authors.

This background led me to discuss the work of the print artist Tachibana Morikuni, who was among the first Japanese artists to publish painting manuals. Morikuni was accused by art historians of selling the secret model books of the Kano school, and thus of triggering the distribution of hitherto elite subjects to the popular realm. The *Pictures of Agriculture* serve as a good indicator of this trend because it is the first printed manual to portray Japanese figures. Yet, when compared to former Chinese and Japanese printed books, Morikuni's book *Tradable Treasures* indicates that the iconography of the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* in the eighteenth century did not develop in a linear form. In fact, Morikuni's work can be traced back to various printed and painted books. These include Kano-related paintings and the popular

manual *The Complete Book of Agriculture*. Morikuni was thus not the first to use the *Pictures of Agriculture* in Japanese commercial printing. He was preceded by the artist Hishikawa Moronobu, whose work also exemplifies trends in the popularization of elite culture in the age of print. This web of influences testifies to the intricate workings of visual culture during the mid-Edo period, and indicates that printed Chinese books played a more influential role in the development of Edo arts than hitherto claimed. This statement is not meant to supplant the centrality of the Kano school in the Edo period art world, but the two tendencies should be seen as equally important. Namely, the training method promoted by the Kano school—copying and transmission—provided the paradigm used by print artists to turn the newly imported vignettes into local forms. Knowledge of this complexity is helpful when analyzing the iconography of works by both Kano-related artists and of artists working in the *ukiyo-e* style. Understanding the amalgam of Kano practices and Chinese manuals in the works of Morikuni can lead to a more profound understanding of the complex iconography and social messages that were developed by Harunobu and his followers.

5.0 CHAPTER 4: PICTURES OF SERICULTURE

5.1.1 Introduction

This chapter surveys the history of *Pictures of Sericulture* in early modern Japan. *Pictures of Sericulture* originated with *Pictures of Agriculture* and together they signified the wish for an ideal society. While the early history of sericultural images in China, and later in Japan, is similar to that of agricultural images, beginning in the eighteenth century sericultural images appear mostly in popular prints but not in paintings. Examining the reception and appropriation of sericultural images in the second half of the Edo period, I propose, illustrates the growing discourse of proto-nationalism in early modern Japan. In contrast with *Pictures of Agriculture*, images of sericulture focus on women and their treatment of identity and ideology suggests a different tone; for this reason, I chose to focus on this theme in a separate chapter.

Sericulture was associated with traditionally female roles such as child-raising and domestic work. As Francesca Bray taught us, gender roles and technological development are closely linked. But both bear strong relation to issues of national identity and historiography. Below I argue that changes in the representation of sericulture are not simple indications of changing fashions; they can be linked to historical transformation in women's employment, dissemination of technical knowledge, and the rise of a Japanese proto-national identity. My examination of *Pictures of Sericulture* is therefore two dimensional: on the one hand I survey the

development of painting themes and styles; on the other hand, I propose that changes in representation reflect economic changes and the shifting identity of the viewers. I begin with the paintings' history in China and follow by detailing their introduction to Japan where they were first were produced by the Kano school and later used as venues for the display of attractive girls.

In their studies of Japanese early modern book culture, Elizabeth Berry⁴⁶² and Eiko Ikegami⁴⁶³ explored the ways in which literary trends are related to proto-nationalism. *Pictures of Sericulture* is a perfect example of this process and, the pictures make a perfect case study of the Kano school's model-book training. In summary, the following list of characteristics makes *Pictures of Sericulture* a quintessential product of early modern Japanese visual culture: the theme's links to China, the clear influence of military culture, the transmission from elitist into popular, and a role in the crystallization of modern Japanese identity.

5.1.2 Preface: Short History of *Pictures of Sericulture*

Pictures of Sericulture originated as political imagery in China, and evolved to reflect transitions in early modern ideology and identity in Japan. The fact that the images were associated with female labor further emphasizes their importance to the analysis of cultural undercurrents.

Like *Pictures of Agriculture*, images of silk-production can be traced back to ancient China,⁴⁶⁴ and to comprehensive technical illustrations of sericulture produced during the Song dynasty (10th-12th c.). As I detailed in the first chapter, in 1145 Lou Shu (樓鑰, 1090-1162), a

462 Berry, Mary Elizabeth. 2006. *Japan in print: information and nation in the early modern period, Asia-local studies/global themes*; 12. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

463 Ikegami, Eiko. 2005. *Bonds of Civility: aesthetic networks and the political origins of Japanese culture, Structural analysis in the social sciences*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

464 Wang, 1995. p. 3. The earliest examples are tomb reliefs from the Warring States period (475-221 BCE).

bureaucrat with reformative intentions, composed twenty-four technologically accurate images of sericulture accompanied by poems and these became the iconographic basis for all following renditions in China, Japan, and Korea. In Japan, until the seventeenth century, *Pictures of Sericulture* follow the same developmental pattern as *Pictures of Agriculture*: the copying of Chinese motifs was gradually replaced by Japanized adaptations of the same scenes. Nonetheless, during the early Edo Period (seventeenth century), the Kano school, which had copies of models showing sericulture, produced only a small number of painted sliding door panels or folding screens replicating these scenes. Concurrently, with the development of the Japanese print industry, sericultural images began to be identified with images of beautiful women (美人画). The decline in status of *Pictures of Sericulture* from Confucian paintings of admonition (観戒画) to popular *bijin-ga* reflects changes in the way silk was viewed during the Edo. From luxurious import associated with China to local product. Silk maintained an exclusive image during the Edo, and sumptuary laws restricted silk garments to the samurai class. While the material was produced in the villages by farmers, the weaving, dyeing, and sewing of garments was controlled by urban artisans and merchants. This division of labor is reflected in the images of sericulturists. This tendency continued into the twentieth century when industrial textile manufacture become a national industry patronized by the imperial house. Modern prints of women in the silk industry emphasized their service to their imperial nation.

5.1.3 Current research

The academic world has demonstrated less interest in *Pictures of Sericulture* than those of rice-production: studies that deal exclusively with this theme make up approximately five

percent of published articles concerning *Pictures of Agriculture*. Although most studies of *Pictures of Agriculture* refer to *Pictures of Sericulture*, their writers often focus on agriculture to draw their conclusions, suggesting that their assertions can be applied to *Pictures of Sericulture* as well.

The visual culture of sericulture has attracted the attention of ethnologists like Hatakeyama Yutaka (畠山豊), chief curator of the Machida Prefectural Museum, who conducted several exhibitions on the subject.⁴⁶⁵ Similarly, regional museums occasionally display items related to local silk production and related popular cults and visual culture.⁴⁶⁶ Although the cult of the goddesses of silk (明神, Jp. Meimyo) is only tangential to my discussion of *Pictures of Sericulture*, these studies are relevant since they provide further proof that sericulture has hitherto been analyzed as a record of as a female roles in the domestic arena, as goddesses of sericulture, and as shamans in sericultural rituals.⁴⁶⁷

In 2000 Haraguchi Shizuko of Toyama University suggested taking a feminist perspective on the study of *Pictures of Sericulture* at a conference for studies in women's history.⁴⁶⁸ She claimed the theme was excluded from the official canon because of sericulture's association with women's work, and the paintings' classification as feminine (女性的). Her observation was supported by one of the leading feminist art historians in Japan today, Mori Rie (森理恵). In her discussion, Mori criticized Kōno's and Hatakeyama's studies as deriving from

465 Machida Municipal Museum 町田市立博物館, ed. 2002. *Yōsan kishokuzu* 養蚕機織図. Machida: Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan 町田市立博物館.

466 Fukushima Prefectural Museum, 福島県立博物館編, ed. 1998 *Ten no kinuito: hito to mushi no minzokushi : Nihonjin ni totte "ikimono" to wa, "shizen" to wa*, 天の絹絲 : ヒトと虫の民俗誌 : 日本人にとって「生きもの」とは、「自然」とは Aizuwakamatsu 会津若松: Fukushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan;

467 Fukushima Prefectural Museum, 1998. p. 75-85; Toono Municipal Museum 遠野市立博物館, ed. 2000. *Oshira kami no hakken* オシラ神の発見. Toono: Toono shiritsu hakubutsukan.

468 Haraguchi Shizuko 原口志津子. 2000. *Kōshokuzu to shiki kōsakuzu* 耕織図と四季耕作図. Paper read at Joseishi gakkai 女性史学会, at Kyoto.

conservative approaches to both the nation and to women. They relate to Japan as idiosyncratic and with a “rice mentality” and attribute only domestic roles to urban women.⁴⁶⁹

My research below is indebted to all these scholars. The studies by Kōno Michiaki, Watabe Takeshi, and Hatakeyama Yutaka pioneered the gathering and systematic categorization of *Pictures of Sericulture* by period, style, and location but I agree with Haraguchi that the ideological bias of sericultural images and their study often conceals an essentialist approach towards Japan and towards women.

5.1.4 Research question and Methodology

In accord with the above, my study recognizes that existing research materials and paintings reflect ideological approaches to labor and society. Since sericulture was associated with women’s roles, I primarily refer in this chapter to gendered representations. In her groundbreaking study of gender and sericultural technology in China, Francesca Bray terms silk production “gynotechnics.”⁴⁷⁰ By this she means that the space designated for sericulture in the household – and the set of morals that were associated with weaving—were part of gender socialization for women. Despite significant differences in women’s social roles in Edo-period Japan and in China, I argue that gender is a key framework through which we should view changing Japanese images of sericulture. As Amino Yoshihiko pointed out, textile production

469 Mori Rie 森 理恵. 2000. Inasaku to yōsan o meguru gensetsu no mondaiten: "nihonjin" to "onna no rōdō" 稲作と養蚕をめぐる言説の問題点 — 「日本人」と「女の労働」. Paper read at Joseishi gakkai 女性史学, at Kyoto.

470 Francesca Bray. 1997. *Technology and gender: fabrics of power in late imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 4.

has been dominated by women's labor since antiquity.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, as Haraguchi Shizuko pointed out, sericulture was a less-favored painting theme than *Pictures of Agriculture* due to its association with women.

Associating Japanese identity with femininity, and foreign (Chinese or Western) identity with masculinity, Chino Kaori's theoretical platform further adds to the understanding of *Pictures of Sericulture* as carrying ideological messages.⁴⁷² If we continue with Haraguchi's line of thought that sericulture was associated with both women and with the cultural construction of femininity, sericulture would also be associated with feminine attributes like passivity and dependence. At a time when Japanese identity was gaining an authoritative, masculine attitude towards the Other, feminine—i.e. passive—identities were frowned upon, and thus *Pictures of Sericulture* were less favored for public spaces. I argue that sericulture was pushed aside as an inappropriate theme for public spaces because it associated patrons with “femininity.” Femininity connoted both the female sex and passive social roles, and thus could define Japan as passive and dependent upon external cultures. This view was unwelcome at times when Japanese identity was redefined vis-à-vis its dichotomy from the continent and Christianity. As we shall see below, while images of agriculture had already come to symbolize unified Japan in the early Edo period (1600-1868), it was not until the Meiji period (1868-1912) that sericulture came to be identified with imperial power. The decline of silk imports in the 1930's and the economic and national destruction of the 1940's repositioned silk as a symbol of international relations and

471 In: Haraguchi Shizuko 原口志津子. 2000. shiki kōsakuzu to yōsan zu, shikie: Katō [] hitsu "shikikōsakuzu emaki" (Shōkōjizō) no shōkai o kanete 四季耕作図と耕織図、四季絵--加藤遠澤筆「四季耕作図巻」(勝興寺蔵) の紹介をかねて 富山県立大学紀要 *Bulletin of Toyama Prefectural University* 101:150-138. p. 148.

472 Chino, Kaori. 2003. Gender in Japanese Art. In *Gender and power in the Japanese visual field*, edited by J. S. Mostow, N. Bryson and M. Graybill. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Chino posited the complementing concepts – Japanese/foreign and female/male – within the platform of self/other as a means to analyze the choice of styles in Heian-period paintings.

Japan's disastrous dependence. For these reasons, I argue, silk was avoided as a later national symbol (in contrast with rice), and is still a less attractive topic of research for Japanese scholars.

5.2 HISTORY IN CHINA AND EXISTING WORKS

5.2.1 What is Sericulture?

At the most basic level, sericulture uses insects' discharge to create delicate garments. The difference between the natural phenomenon and the created output testifies to astounding levels of technical acumen in ancient history. The effort involved in this process may explain the many rituals and folktales that are recorded in East Asia regarding silk, and its social role.

Lou Shu's scroll divided the technical process of making silk into twenty-four stages, and his accurate descriptions were fundamental for later works and studies of the silk production technique. Painters also referred to the scenes' titles. The scenes and poems stress the seasonal transition and the intimacy between the women's work and nature.⁴⁷³ Children of all ages are depicted around the laboring women; stressing the fact that raising children is one of women's domestic responsibilities.⁴⁷⁴

473 The division to twenty-four scenes was probably chosen for its cultural connotations rather than for its technical accuracy because it does not fully correspond with the calendaric division to the twenty-four little seasons (節句). Sericultural practices varied among different areas and altered with scientific developments (for example, development of improved species and the use of thermometers). Later reproductions sometimes reflect such variations. Still, Nishimoto Shūko stated that because sericulture takes place indoors, this theme did not suit the folding screen format which is associated with seasonal division. See: Nishimoto Shūko 西本周子. 2002. *Shinshutsu "yōsan kishoku zu"* (Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan zō) o megutte 新出「養蚕機織図」(町田市立博物館)をめぐる. In *Yōsan kishokuzu* 養蚕機織図, edited by Machida Municipal Museum 町田市立博物館. Machida: Machida shiritsu hakubutsukan 町田市立博物館. p.5.

474 Raising silkworms was associated with raising children. Pronounced "kaiko," the word for silkworms (蚕), is homophonic to the term child-rearing (kaiko 飼い子).

At the end of the lunar year, the eggs are removed from the eggs cards (on which they were laid in the previous summer) and are washed (浴蚕). Later, the eggs are warmed up to prompt the hatching of the silkworms (下蚕). After hatching, mulberry leaves⁴⁷⁵ are picked and carried over to the homes (採桑), where the silkworms are raised in special baskets. Mulberry harvesting is the most labor-intensive phase in this process. Since the amount of fiber digested by the worms determines the length of the threads they produce, the silkworms are fed an incredible amount of leaves, and molt at least three times (一眠;二眠;三眠).⁴⁷⁶ Special lattices (trellises) are prepared for the worms to cocoon (上簇), and the rooms are heated to maintain ideal conditions for incubation (炙箔). The fully-grown cocoons are then removed from the lattices (下簇) and are weighed for selecting those of length and quality (択繭). The best cocoons are kept for future breeding and the untainted majority is stored in tight jars with salt and *wutong* (parasol tree) leaves, before the silkmooths mature and destroy the white floss. These are boiled, then the floss is unreeled. Silkmooths emerge from selected cocoons (蚕蛾) which were kept aside and are allowed to mate; their eggs will be laid on special cards. Offerings are presented to the Goddess of Silkworms (祀謝).⁴⁷⁷ Winding and spinning the silk is done with the spinning wheel (絡絲／一經). The warp (經) is stretched and the weft (緯) is arranged to determine the design. Weaving (織) is carried out by repetitive passing of the shuttle. Embroidered design can be applied (攀花)

475 Mulberry agriculture was discussed and illustrated in various agricultural manuals (in Japan only from the end of the seventeenth century), but remained a technical subject and did not receive the canonic and symbolic position of riziculture.

476 The number of molting depends on the species of silkworms.

477 This scene was not reproduced in many of the Japanese versions.

and the silk is cut to yarns and rolled (剪帛).⁴⁷⁸ In China the silk rolls were collected for taxes while in early-modern Japan taxation focused on rice crops.⁴⁷⁹ This may be another reason for the absence of depictions of silk in Japan. Below I use the term sericultural scenes (or sericultural images) to encompass pictures of any of the above activities. I use the term *Pictures of Sericulture* to indicate the theme that depicts all the processes described above or an abbreviated version of this process.

5.2.2 Men Plow Women Weave: Sericulture as Support of Social Order

The Chinese phrase “men plow; women weave” (男耕女織), signifies a balanced society where all elements function harmoniously. It is linked to the fundamental Chinese world view of the yin-yang and the five phases (陰陽五行説). Visual representation of plowing men and weaving women is, therefore, a portrayal of an ideal society and as such it can reaffirm and promote social agendas. Interestingly, the phrase did not enter the Japanese language, but symbolic acts of agriculture and sericulture were considered to be one of the imperial duties both in China and in Japan.⁴⁸⁰ As we saw in the first chapter, ritual plowing was associated with imperial authority in both areas. Concurrently, the empress performed a ceremonial picking of mulberry leaves.⁴⁸¹ These acts assured the wealth of the country and confirmed the heavenly

478 The titles of the above scenes are based on Hammers’s translation of Lou Shu’s poems. Note that the many adaptations of Lou Shu’s motifs show different variations (for example, the embroidery and tailoring in the last scenes of Jiao Bingzhen’s illustrations). Kano Einō’s illustrations mixed some of the last steps of the sericulture.

479 Throughout most of the Edo period, silk was considered a cottage industry and, as such, was not under the scrutiny of tax officials.

480 Shinjō Rie 新城理恵. 2002. *Kinu to kōgō: chūgoku no kokka girei to yōsan* 絹と皇后—中国の国家儀礼と養蚕. In *Iwanami kōza. Tennō to ōken o kangaeru: Seisan to ryūtsū* 岩波講座. 天皇と王権を考える: 生産と流通, edited by Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦 et al. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.p. 142-145.

481 Rawski and Rawson, 2005. p. 444.

mandate of the current leadership. These rituals also reassured the reoccurrence of the annual cycle (seasonal change) and the stability of social distinctions (gender roles). I see the famous *Preparing Newly Woven Silk* scroll of the Boston museum of fine arts (Tang dynasty)(figure 15) as a product of this ideological tradition, although *Pictures of Sericulture* comprises different vignettes. The scroll depicts accurate technical procedures for making silk; it is rich in details pertaining to social hierarchies and it conveys a message regarding cooperation of all ages and classes to create this expensive material.

5.2.3 Who does the Weaving: Sericulture as Protest

While imperial sources were using images of sericulture to emphasize authority, various poetic sources used the image of the weaving women as protest. In “Who does the Weaving/ Who wears the Robe?” Lisa Lee Peterson establishes a link between descriptions of women’s tragic fates and literary images of silk making. For example, in Bai Juyi’s (白居易 772-846)⁴⁸²

Heavy Taxes:

*Mulberries and hemp are planted in the best fields
To improve the livelihood of the people,
Enabling them to weave cloth and silk
To maintain themselves and pay their taxes; [...]
Officials begin plundering the people [...]
Before the silk even leaves the looms,
The tax collector arrives with his demands
The year ends and cold sets in [...]
Children are without clothes*

⁴⁸² Bai Juyi was famous in Japan already during his life time, and influenced the development of *waka* during the Heian Period (794-1185) (*Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, 2002).

*And old folk have no way to keep warm [...].*⁴⁸³

It is interesting to note that, following tradition, Bai Juyi includes seasonal changes in his narrative, but breaks from the harmony one would expect to find in descriptions of the countryside. This structure stresses the fact that official corruption leads to the disruption of proper social conditions: despite their hard work, the laborers are hungry. This elegiac tone continued up to the Qing dynasty. A poem by Dong Hongdu (Qing Dynasty) opens with the words “Hungry, she still weaves/ Numbed with cold, she still weaves” and closes with the chilling words “Who, having sold their loom/ Next had to sell their son.”⁴⁸⁴

Despite the subversive message, these poems utilize the same conservative image of the laboring woman. This is often the case with descriptions of women (and poor people in general) in the arts: their representation and voices are borrowed for the service of a larger political debate. We should study Lou Shu’s oeuvre and its reception while keeping this in mind. His work conforms to both opposing traditions: his poems are elegiac, while his pictures are technical and positivistic. In her dissertation, Hammers links Lou Shu’s artwork with his attempts to maintain taxation reforms and to reduce the economic burden on the destitute famers. Nonetheless, the adoption of Lou Shu’s images and texts by the Chinese imperial court as an edifying text suggests that the positivistic message of the images (in contrast with the critical poems) dictated the reception of the original *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*, first in China and later in Japan.

483 Peterson, Lisa Lee 1996. Who does the weaving, who wears the robe? Didactic poems and pictures of ancient Chinese weavers *Arts of Asia* 26 (3): 54-63. p. 55-56.

484 Peterson, 1996. p. 57.

5.2.4 Records of Reception

As I discussed in the first chapter, Southern Song sources referring to Emperor Gaozong (高宗, r. 1127-1163) suggest that images of sericulture were produced and displayed to impart their educational message.⁴⁸⁵ We find here the same logic that gave rise to images of model figures, such as Confucian sages, paragon emperors, or filial sons.⁴⁸⁶ Lou Shu's relatives write that the *Gengzhitu* were displayed in the rear or inner court. Lou Hong (樓洪, n.d.) writes that "[t]he emperor greatly praised the work, and immediately displayed them in the rear palace."⁴⁸⁷ Lou Yao (樓鑰, 1137-1213) adds that the emperor "gave orders to have them painted on the screen of the inner court."⁴⁸⁸ The inner or rear part of the palace was used as the women's quarters, and the decision to display the pedagogical images for a female audience in semi-public spaces requires further attention.⁴⁸⁹ Further evidence of the importance of the *Pictures of Sericulture* for the female courtly audience is found in the Southern Song scroll of sericulture (figure 2) which carries an inscription by empress Wu (吳, 1115-1197). Empress Wu was the

485 According to the *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* (建炎以來系年要錄, Records of important affairs since the beginning of the Jianyan [1127-1130]), the Emperor Gaozong said: "*rearing silkworms should be done in the imperial palace, so that all will know the hardships of farm work. Our forefathers had ordered to have the farm household silkworm rearing and silk weaving painted in detail on the opposite inner walls of the [Pavilion of Eternal Spring]* (延春閣). In: Wang, 1995. p. 35. This pavilion could be associated with ideal space (because eternal spring alludes paradise) thus the choice to decorate it with agricultural and sericultural themes may suggest that this theme connoted ideal society.

486 Lawton mentioned that Gaozong ordered a copy for of the *gengzhitu* for his heir apparent (Lawton, 1973. p.71). This details supports the suggestion that the images filled an educational role at the court.

For a discussion of representing paragon emperors, see:

487 Hammers, 2002. p. 327-328.

488 Wang, 1995. p. 36. Hammers translation is slightly different. She explains that the emperor had Lou Shu's name written on a screen to commemorate his merit and contributions (Hammers, 2002. p. 331).

489 This may suggest (1) female audience, but it is not clear whether agriculture was also considered a suitable theme for the female audience. (2) semi-public or private audience. Considering the image of the works from the Qing-dynasty editions (public, male and female audience of all classes), the Lou Shu's story suggests that we should treat the Southern Song (and consequently the scroll attributed to Liang Kai) as different branches of this genre, despite the direct link that was created by the later emperors.

second wife of Gaozong, and was known as a talented calligrapher.⁴⁹⁰ This scroll is considered the oldest, and thus the most authentic, record of Lou Shu's work and its reception. In her calligraphy, Empress Wu conveys thanks to the women weavers and calls them exemplary models for the common people. Interestingly, she also added technical comments, which suggests that the scroll was used as textbook.⁴⁹¹

And yet, we cannot say that scenes of sericulture were viewed only by women. Inscriptions on this and other scrolls of agriculture and sericulture (such as the scroll attributed to the Yuan-dynasty painter Cheng Qi 程棨 in the Freer Gallery) carry seals of later emperors. Of particular importance are the inscriptions by the Qing emperors Kangxi and Qianlong, who published their own versions of the pictures and poems (figure 76). Although we cannot state that the Southern Song and Qing-dynasty appreciation of the images is the same, it is likely that sericultural images were also appreciated by the men of the Southern Song court as edifying, entertaining, or both, as Julia Murray contends in her examination of the audience for other edifying texts for women—*The Ladies Classic of Filial Piety* (女孝經) and *The Admonitions of the Instructress for Court Ladies* (女史箴圖, Ch. *nushizhentu*).⁴⁹² Murray concludes that the main interest of the male audience was curiosity about women of a different class. In other words, both males and females at the Chinese imperial court viewed *Pictures of Sericulture* as part of their cultural socialization. The images were, at least for certain time periods, part of semi-public or public display at court, and were probably viewed in intimate scroll or book formats

490 Bray, 1984. p. 49. See also Murray's comment on sericulture as appropriate in women's education in Murray, Julia K. 1990. Didactic Art for Women: The Ladies Classic of Filial Piety. In *Flowering in the shadows: women in the history of Chinese and Japanese painting*, edited by M. S. Weidner. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 35.

491 Wang, 1995. p. 37-38.

492 Murray, 1990; Julia Murray. 2001. The Admonitions Scroll and Didactic Images of Women in Early China. *Orientalism* 32 (6): 35-40.

throughout history. The formal reasons for viewing *Pictures of Sericulture* were related to moral edification, and these images of laboring women conveyed that commodities come at great prices and are the result of using one's power benevolently. At the same time, because of the images' link to power and abuse, powerful viewers may have used the images as confirmation of their own sovereignty.

5.3 JAPANESE IMAGES OF SERICULTURE

5.3.1 Sericulture and Political Authority in Japanese History

5.3.1.1 Ancient Period

Sericultural techniques entered Japan during the Yayoi period (ca. 3rd c. BCE - 3rd c. CE) with waves of Korean émigrés. Not incidentally, the term for loom (*hata*, 機) is a homophone of one of the names of influential Korean clans (秦氏) in the Yamato court.⁴⁹³ Silk was thus associated with elite court culture from early times; various ancient mythologies, rituals, and folktales from Asuka and Nara (7-8th c.) testify to the continental origin of sericultural practices and their absorption into Japanese culture. Silk became part of the *ritsuryou* centralized legal system (律令制同) and was paid as tribute; the production of silk was perceived as contributing to the country's wealth.

493 *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, 2002.

5.3.1.2 Ancient sources on Sericulture

The *Nihongi* (日本紀, *Chronicles of Japan*, 720 CE) is an important source for studying early images of sericulture in Japan and for understanding later absorption of sericultural images into the social discourse. Silk textiles or silkworms are mentioned approximately 125 times in the *Chronicles of Japan*,⁴⁹⁴ a number which may testify to the importance of silk textiles to imperial rule. Most references refer to dyed silks given as tributes, taxes, alms, or gifts during the time of the early emperors.⁴⁹⁵ These all suggest the high commercial value and social importance of silk, which signified the transference or projection of power. It is noteworthy that silkworms are mentioned together with grains as components in the *kami*'s slain body in the chapters dedicated to the Age of the Gods—one of many associations drawn between agriculture, sericulture, and ritual power.⁴⁹⁶ An interesting anecdote from the time of Emperor Yūryaku (雄略天皇) refers to imperial rituals concerning sericulture:

*3rd month, 7th day. The Emperor wished to make the Empress and his concubines plant mulberry trees with their own hands, in order to encourage the silk industry.*⁴⁹⁷

494 See: *Japanese Historical Texts Initiative*. 2006. University of California at Berkeley. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/JHTI/> (accessed April 2010). Note that this counting is based on the English translation of various Japanese terms, such as: silkworms (蠶), silk floss (綿帛), spinning (績). In comparison, silkworms are mentioned only six times in the *Kojiki*. Silkworms are mentioned only once: when Susanoo kills Ogetsuhime (大氣都比賣神), silkworms emerge from her head, while various grains are produce from all other openings in her body (Book 1, p. 27).

495 Most of the 125 references relate to silk as a significant act of giving or presenting. For example when the Emperor orders Arashito to return to Korea: "In future take the august name of the Emperor Mimaki and make it the name of thy country. So he gave Arashito red silk stuffs and sent him back to his native land. This was the reason why the name of that country is called Mimana." (仍以赤織絹。給阿羅斯等。返于本土。故号其國). In: book 6, p. 402. *Japanese Historical Text Initiative*, 2006. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/jhti/cgi-bin/jhti/brows.cgi?page=&line=&hon=&moji=&sbpage=402&kazu=1&key1=&key2=&taisho=&honname=1&chk=&CHKEYES=&sel=5&brows=a> (accessed April 2010).

496 In Wakanomusubi's crown (*The Age of the Gods I*, p. 50, paragraph 1) and in Amaterasu's eyebrows (*The Age of the Gods I*, p. 77, paragraph 1). In: *Japanese Historical Text Initiative*, 2006. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/JHTI/Nihon%20shoki.html> (accessed April 2010).

497 天皇欲使后妃親桑以觀蠶事 In: Book 14 (Yūryaku tenno, p. 830, paragraph 3. *Lcr cpgug"J kvqt kecn'* Vgzv'kpkc vkg, Ibid.

The magical thinking⁴⁹⁸ encompassed in this ritual is similar to the rationale that was recorded in the Chinese court: the empress' symbolic acts had an auspicious influence on the country's production of silk. These rituals were performed by the Chinese and Japanese imperial family in order to ensure abundant harvests and affluent taxes. Scholars derive information about early rituals, by analyzing *waka* (和歌, Japanese poems), since the poems are believed to reflect ancient prayers.⁴⁹⁹ Because poems and paintings were composed together, *waka* may reflect the paintings on lost folding screens that were used in imperial rituals. Consequently, one may expect that images of agriculture and sericulture were depicted on the imperial screens. Yet, while images of rice fields are often found in *waka*, and are thus thought to be painted on folding screens, painted images of sericultural in both paintings and poetry are rare prior to the fifteenth century.⁵⁰⁰

The codependence between imperial authority and commoners' labors in ancient times is demonstrated also in the following anecdote related to Emperor Keidai (r. 505-531):⁵⁰¹

The Emperor made a decree, saying: "we have heard that if men are of fit age and do not cultivate, the Empire may suffer famine; if women are of fit age and do not spin, the Empire may suffer cold. Therefore is it that the sovereigns cultivate with their own hands, so as to give encouragement to agriculture, while their consorts rear silkworms themselves, so as to encourage the mulberry season. How, then, shall there be prosperity if all, from the functionaries down to the ten thousand families, neglect agriculture and

498 Namely, attributing symbolic acts or spells the power to generate concrete events.

499 On *waka* and magical thought see: Josef A. Kyburz, 1997. *Magical Thought at the Interface of Nature and Culture*. In *Japanese images of nature: cultural perspectives*, edited by P. J. Asquith and A. Kalland. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press. p. 267.

500 To my current knowledge, sericultural images do not repeat in pre-Muromachi poetry.

501 For a different analysis of this story that links Shinto and modern initiative, see: Joseph Warren Teets Mason. 2002 (first published 1935). *The meaning of Shinto : the primæval foundation of creative spirit in modern Japan*. Victoria, Canada: Trafford Publishing. p. 172.

spinning? Let the officials publish this to all the Empire, so that our sentiments may be made known.”⁵⁰²

This story suggests additional reasons for conducting agricultural and sericultural activities at court: commoners would not perform those acts unless encouraged to do so by the court. Without plowing and spinning there would be no food or clothes, and famine and cold would prevail among all classes. The emperor is thus asking the court’s awareness of agricultural labor in order to encourage prosperity. This anecdote emphasizes that prosperity was not only the outcome of rituals aimed at the cosmos (as demonstrated in the former anecdote), but the outcome of attentive rule and obedient subjects. In its political tone, this anecdote resembles Chinese texts, as has also been proposed by Michael Como in his article “Silkworms and Consorts in Nara Japan.”⁵⁰³ Como states that sericultural references are reminiscent of continental traditions, and demonstrates that they reflect the consolidation of continental traditions within the Japanese imperial system. These arguments form the basis of my contention that the visual representation of sericultural activities had the same political functions as the rituals described above; images of sericulture were to confirm political authority and maintain the hierarchical basis of society.

5.3.1.3 Sericulture and Political authority - Medieval to Modern Periods

In medieval times, silk production in Japan significantly declined; silk was one of the major imports from China (often through the Ryūkyū Islands and then in the sixteenth century it

502 戊辰詔曰。朕聞士有當年而不耕者。則天下或受其飢矣。女有當年而不績者。天下或受其寒矣。故帝王躬耕而勸農業。后妃親蠶而勉桑序。況厥百寮暨于萬族。廢棄農績。而至殷富者乎。有司普告天下。令識朕懷。Source: *Nihonshoki*, Book 17 (Emperor Keidai) verse 17. In: *Japanese Historical Text Initiative*, 2006. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/jhti/cgi-bin/jhti/print.cgi> (accessed April 2010).

503 Michael Como. 2005. Silkworms and Consorts in Nara Japan. *Asian Folklore Studies* 64 (1):111-131. (This chapter was written before Como further developed his conclusions in: Michael Como. 2009. *Weaving and binding : immigrant gods and female immortals in ancient Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press).

was mediated by European merchants). It has been suggested that women were the main (if not sole) workers in the silk and garment industries (from raising silkworms, spinning, dyeing, weaving, producing *kosode* 小袖 and *obi* 帯 to marketing these products). Documents from the end of the Muromachi (16th c.) record women's names as heads of the Kyoto *obi-za* (sash guild). Although from the late Muromachi period onwards, women gradually lost their dominion in this field, and the textile industry came under the monopoly of men.⁵⁰⁴

With shogunal regulations curtailing imports at the end of the seventeenth century, Japanese markets had to develop local production in order to supply the growing demand for quality textiles. In addition, isolationists were suspicious of the Iberian tradesmen who dominated the silk trade between Japan and China, and pushed for the development of local industries.⁵⁰⁵ James Ulak mentions 1630 as the year when pressures at home “balanced” locally produced silk with the product imported from China, which was considered to be of superior quality. Local production of raw silk increased significantly during the eighteenth century; centers opened and developed, and new technologies were implemented.⁵⁰⁶ Because of their different economic impact, it is important to distinguish professional centers like the Nishijin in Kyoto, which contributed to the local economy, and home industries, which were not taxed.⁵⁰⁷

The desire to produce silk locally was so great that Meiji Japan was quick to adopt textile-mill technology—the same innovation that led to the first industrial revolution in Western

504 Haraguchi, 2000. p. 148

505 Ulak, 1992. p. 74. It was primarily Portuguese tradespersons who controlled the silk imports to Japan during the Momoyama and early Edo periods. For details, see: George Bryan Souza. 2004. *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 48-50.

506 Akira Hayami. 2003. *Emergence of Economic Society in Japan, 1600-1859*. Vol. 1, *The Economic History of Japan*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 109-112.

507 Sericulture could turn into the primary income for female divorcees. See: Diana E. Wright. 1997. Severing the Karmic Ties that Bind. The "Divorce Temple" Mantokuji. *Monumenta Nipponica* 52 (3):357-380. P. 378.

Europe a century earlier. During the Meiji period, silk industries again became associated with the country's technological development and the imperial family's authority. By the beginning of the twentieth-century Japan was a major exporter of silk textiles. Japan's exports to American and European markets declined with the 1930's depression, and ceased with the war in the 1940's.⁵⁰⁸

The details above are essential to understanding the discourse concerning silk culture in the early modern period and in later historiography. It is noteworthy that the silk industry, unlike rice, was closely related to external, non-Japanese markets. The Japanization of sericultural techniques during the Edo Period parallels the decline of sericulture as an official painting theme; concurrently the consolidation of native silk production parallels the rise of this theme in *ukiyo-e*.⁵⁰⁹

5.3.2 Visual Precedents to *Pictures of Sericulture*

Given the above background, one may expect a considerable number of visual references to sericulture. Still, I could locate only two images that refer to textile production prior to the fifteenth century. I detail them below.

508 For further discussion of the historical background, see: Ma Debin. 2004. Why Japan, not China, was the First to Develop in East Asia: Lessons from Sericulture, 1850-1937. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 52 (2).

509 It is interesting to note that the rise of color-print technique parallels the development of the Nishijin center in Kyoto. The term *nishiki-e* (brocade prints) thus reflects technological developments in both the textile-weaving industry and in the print industry.

5.3.2.1 The Taima Mandala Scroll (当麻曼荼羅縁起絵巻)

An important precedent to the sericultural theme is the *Painted Scroll of the Origins of the Taima Mandara* (figure 6). This thirteenth-century handscroll narrates the magical creation of the eighth-century Taima Mandara.⁵¹⁰ The devout daughter of Governor Yokohagi⁵¹¹ extracted threads from lotus stems by order of a mysterious nun who appears after the girl's retreat from society. These threads were magically dyed five colors after the nun soaked them in plain water. An attendant wove the magical threads into the resplendent *Taima Mandara* tapestry.

The illustrated *emaki* has attracted the attention of many scholars because it sheds light on various Buddhist practices.⁵¹² The technical procedures portrayed have not yet been examined. It is noteworthy that weaving was chosen as an act of devotion appropriate for an aristocratic woman. Note that the devout princess does not perform the dyeing or weaving herself; these are conducted for her by the nun and attendant—they will be revealed later as Amida Buddha (阿弥陀) and the Bodhisattva Kannon (観音菩薩). Indeed, it seems that throughout the ages elite women commissioned textiles, but the actual spinning, dyeing, and weaving were conducted by professional women. It is no coincidence that the translator of the *Nihongi* emphasizes that during the court rituals, the consorts were to spin “with their own hands,” suggesting this was not regularly the case.⁵¹³

510 For an profound discussion of the story narrated in the Taima Mandala, see: Monika Dix. 2006. *Writing Women into Religious Histories: Rereading Representations of Chūjōhime in Medieval Japanese Buddhist Narratives*, Asian Studies British Columbia, Vancouver. See also: Komatsu Shigemi, 小松茂美, ed. 1992. *Taima mandara engi. Chigo kannon engi* 当麻曼荼羅縁起..稚児観音縁起. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社.

511 She is identified with Chūjō hime 中将姫, daughter of Fujiwara no Toyonari, but this is a later interpolation. See Kaminishi Ikumi. 2006. *Explaining pictures : Buddhist propaganda and etoki storytelling in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 72.

512 For example: Kaminishi, 2006. p. 72-73; Nakano Chieko. 2009. "Kechien" as Religious Praxis in Medieval Japan: Picture Scrolls as the Means and Sites of Salvation, East Asian Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson.

513 See chapter 5.3.1.2.

The loom in the scroll was depicted with some attention to technical accuracy: the painter acknowledged the weights and levers manipulated by the weaving attendant. The artist used rulers to sketch the machine, a mode that can be linked to the Chinese practice of geometric delineation (界画, Chi. *jiehua*).⁵¹⁴ Although actual weaving looms might have inspired this depiction, it is not implausible that the painter modeled this composition after a weaving scene in a Song-dynasty manual. Having knowledge of Chinese geometric sketching supports the conjecture that the artist could have been exposed to Chinese manuals and thus derive the composition and the depiction of the loom from an imported agrarian manual. The bird's eye view and the structure of the loom in the handscroll call to mind the illustration to “weaving” from the Yuan dynasty agrarian manual by Wang Zhen (1313).⁵¹⁵

The Taima Mandala scroll is an early example of painterly interest in the depiction of technical instruments, which is also apparent in the detailed image of men digging the well, which is juxtaposed with the women dyeing clothes. It is further reinforcement for the association of women with textile-production and the magical power attributed to this process.⁵¹⁶

5.3.2.2 *Handscroll of Annual Events* (年中行事絵巻)

Paintings of artisans and laborers (職人, Jp. *shokunin*) and paintings of annual events (年中行事, Jp. *nenjūgyōji*) are two additional painterly traditions that were assimilated into the *Pictures of*

⁵¹⁴ Also termed: boundary paintings. *Jiehua* was a sketching technique used for architectural drawings from the Tang Dynasty, and was adopted as an artistic device from the Song dynasty. In Japan the technique was called *yataibiki* and is apparent in Heian handscrolls. (See: “Kaiga” in: Jaanus. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/k/kaiga.htm> Accessed April 2010). The painter of the *Taima Mandala emaki* probably had some professional training in this technique.

⁵¹⁵ Although slightly later to the *Taima Mandala emaki*, Wang Zhen's book (1313) took influence from Lou Shu's work and probably resembled a now lost Song-Dynasty illustrated text (For Wang Zhen and Lou Shu, see: Hammers, 2002. p. 203). The *Wang Zhen Nongshu* was reproduced in many books, see for example: Chen Fu nongshu. Wang Zhen nongshu. Chen shi nongshu. 陳勇農書. 王禎農書. 沈氏農書. 1956. Beijing Zhonghua shuju chubans 中華書局出版.

⁵¹⁶ Kaminishi, 2006. p. 57-73.

Agriculture and Sericulture. Scrolls depicting annual events at court presumably began in the Heian period (794-1185), although the various scrolls surviving today are mainly later reproductions. Commoners' genre scenes are traced back to the thirteenth century. Both traditions began as aristocrats' interpretations of the daily customs of the lower classes, and thus reflect the interests of the elite.

Annual Events Scroll (scroll no. 9 of the Takatsukasa collection; figure 77) depicts a genre scene of a woman commoner spinning.⁵¹⁷ She is seated next to a large loom operated by two barefoot figures. Like the *Taima Mandara Scroll*, the painter aimed to create the feeling of documenting actual events through producing an impression of technical accuracy accompanied by lively gestures. This rare scene may be based on a quotation found on earlier scrolls now lost, because scenes of working commoners were often mere pastiches aimed at creating a joyous atmosphere.⁵¹⁸

5.3.2.3 *Shokunin Uta Awase* (職人歌合せ)

As James Ulak and Hollis Goodall have already pointed out, *shokunin-e* (paintings of laborers) (職人絵) are important precedents to the *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.⁵¹⁹ These paintings were originally illustrations of a poetic form termed *Poetry Competitions among Workers* (職人歌合せ). These formal *waka* poems were composed by aristocrats pretending to relate the experiences of the lower classes. Caricatures of the imagined non-aristocratic poets

517 Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, and Yoshida Mitsukuni 吉田光邦, eds. 1987. *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社.

518 Albeit used as historical records, vignettes of commoners in handscrolls (such as the woman washing clothes in the *Shigisan engi emaki*) were often copied from earlier scrolls and not sketched from life.

519 Goodall, Hollis. 1998. Work. In *Edo, art in Japan 1615-1868*, edited by R. T. Singer, J. T. Carpenter and National Gallery of Art (U.S.). Washington: National Gallery of Art; Ulak, James T. 1992. Utamaro's Views of Sericulture. *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 18 (1):73-103.

were added to collections of these poems as late as the Muromachi period (1331-1573). The growing attention to laborers in the visual culture resulted from their growing economic and political influence during the upheavals of the fifteenth century. The emergence of visual attention to the lower classes has particularly been studied in regard to *Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* (洛中洛外図屏風, Scenes in and around the Capital Screens). It is however, only from the late sixteenth century onwards that we can note a confluence of late Muromachi genre scenes and *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture*.⁵²⁰

5.3.3 *Pictures of Sericulture by the Kano School Artists*

In the previous chapters I described how the set of two scrolls attributed to Liang Kai joined the collection of the Ashikaga shoguns and led eventually to the frequent painting of rice harvesting. Nevertheless, while agricultural vignettes became a recurrent theme in the works of the Kano school, sericultural themes are rare and records concerning their production and display are scarce. Below are descriptions of the existing works. These suggest that, as in the case of the agricultural scenes, the Liang Kai scroll was the main source of inspiration for Kano painters until the seventeenth century. When Kano Tan'yū (狩野探幽) relocated his atelier to Edo in 1621, he probably took the Liang Kai model with him. Later works, particularly those from the Kansai region, show the influence of printed Chinese books. Of particular importance are the

⁵²⁰ I refer here to folding screens that were made with the composition and stylistic characteristics of *rakuchū-rakugai-zu* (See: Reizei et al., 1996. p. 22-23). Vignettes of *kōsakuzu* are apparent in *rakuchū-rakugai-zu* screens from the sixteenth century (for example, on the left most panel of the Uesugi screen). For a discussion of these vignettes, see: Okuda Atsuko 奥田 敦子. 2005. *Rakuchūrakugaizu byōbu no nōkō fūkei* 洛中洛外図屏風の農耕風景 *Journal of the Japan Art History Society* 美術史 54 (158):297-325.

Ming-Dynasty book by Song Zonglu (mid-fifteenth century, figure 78-79), which was copied by Kano Einō (狩野永納), and the Kangxi edition (御製耕織圖), first published in 1696.

5.3.3.1 The Liang Kai model and Kano Motonobu's adaptations

The oldest surviving Japanese *Pictures of Sericulture* is on a pair of folding screens attributed to Kano Motonobu (狩野元信 1476-1559) (figure 80).⁵²¹ This painting was clearly modeled after the Liang-Kai scroll: each of the scenes depicting a mountainous landscape in the original scroll was copied and adapted to fit the large screen format. This manner of adaptation and the style of painting reveal characteristics similar to the wall paintings in the Daisen'in's abbot's quarters (see 2.5), and that is probably the reason for attributing these screens to Motonobu. There is, however, no further evidence suggesting or refuting a link between the two works.⁵²²

Like their model, the scenes are compartmentalized into small “huts,” each representing a different phase in the sericultural process. In the transmission from scroll to screens the painter combined the architectural motifs with a seasonal landscape of rocks, mountains, trees and a river. Several traveling figures roam this ideal landscape through the domestic scenes, and creates the impression that the inhabited areas are remote villages. This scenery was associated with nostalgia for ideal times and distant places, sentiments that were often also evoked in poetry.

The mountains and other landscape elements are said to be in the style of Xia Gui (夏圭, ca. 1180-1224) or Ma Yuan (馬遠, ca. 1160-1225)⁵²³ although the figures are in the style of

521 Image details: Kano Motonobu (attr.), *Raising Silkworms and Weaving*, Nezu Museum, Pair of Folding Screens (6 panels each), 170 x 381.8 cm, Ink and light color on paper. Nezu Museum 根津美術館. 2001. *Nezu bijutsukanzō hinsen: shogahen* 根津美術館藏品選: 書画編. Tokyo: Nezu Bijutsukan 根津美術館. p. 112.

522 It is interesting to note, that in comparison to the many studies of the wall-and-door-paintings in the Daisen'in, the study of these Motonobu folding screens did not surpass catalogue entries.

523 Nezu Museum, 2001. p. 112.

Liang Kai. The composition is classic early Kano: the motifs are “tacked” onto the sides, manipulating the viewers’ gaze, causing it to travel the metaphysical spaces created in the center. Yet, the juxtaposition in this particular composition of untamed natural elements and geometrical constructions brings about a sense of artificiality, even tension.

Since the visual elements in the Motonobu screens of sericulture (figure 80) are based on Chinese models, they may indicate that these big screens were intended for display in a public space. Yet, the choice of female figures for public display—i.e. for viewing by a male audience—is uncommon. This leads me to assume that the tension between the curved and natural lines of the “landscape,” and the angular and artificial lines of the “architecture” in this artwork was deliberate; it aimed to stress the traditional view of women as home-bound. Since this social order was emphasized, the screens were appropriate for public display. Bray noted the importance of maintaining women’s domestic image to support the political order. She wrote: “where the social order of the state forms a continuum with the conduct of family life, women’s behavior is a matter of political concern even though they live in seclusion from what we might think of as the public sphere.”⁵²⁴

5.3.3.2 Model-Books by Kano Motonobu

Motonobu’s adaptations became model books for later generations of Kano students (figure 81). The Tokyo National Museum holds a large collection of Kano copies (*Kano mohon*)⁵²⁵, among them a draft for a pair of sericultural screens signed by Motonobu in the Nezu

524 Bray, 1997. p. 243.

525 Tokyo National Museum 東京国立博物館. 1952. Kano-ha mohon 狩野派模本. In *Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan mokuroku (kaiga, shoseki, chōkoku, kenchiku)* 東京国立博物館目録(絵画、書籍、彫刻、建築). Tokyo: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan. The copies were dated to the second half of the Edo period. See: Tsuji

collection discussed above.⁵²⁶ The copies are rendered on thin paper and are not mounted; they seem to be a working draft or samples not meant for display. The paintings share compositional characteristics with the Nezu screens, and are based on scenes taken from the Liang Kai work. But the structure of the composition is different. The colors are more saturated and more stress is given to the surface of the painting than to creating a three-dimensional experience. Still, it is not implausible that we are looking at a later copy of a work produced by Motonobu because such changes occurred after generations of unskilled copiers obscured the dynamic pictures appreciated in the sixteenth century. I assume that the collection of copies was produced by Kano disciples during the last half of the Edo period. Conventionally, they also copied the original signature in their reproduction. Important to my discussion is the fact that *Pictures of Sericulture* survived throughout the Edo period as prestigious Kano models. Apprentice artists copied images of weaving women, and learned to attribute them to the most prestigious painters in their lineage. And yet, judging from the number of sericultural screens known today, images of sericulture were infrequently commissioned during the Edo period.⁵²⁷

5.3.3.3 Kō| wKobunka Kaikan Screens

The pair of screens in the *Kōzu kobunka kaikan* (高津古文化会館) (figure 82) dates to the end of the sixteenth century and is probably contemporary with the Nezu screens detailed above (figure 80) . This is again a rare example from the later Muromachi with no recorded background. The right screen depicts agricultural scenes and the left shows sericulture. Like the Kano school works, the painting combines a seasonal array of landscape elements with figures

Nobuo, 辻 惟雄. 1993. Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan zō kano-ha mohon nitsuite 東京国立博物館蔵狩野派模本について. *Museum* 507 (June):18-34.

526 I am very grateful for Hiroyuki Good for arranging my visit to the collection.

527 For more sericultural screens from the Edo to the Shōwa period, see: Machida Municipal Museum, 2002.

from model books. In this case, however, the architectural elements are scattered and the landscape elements are of a more humble scale, which creates a condensed and arbitrary feeling quite distanced from the lofty and balanced space one finds in Motonobu's works. Yet the fact that the artist was using painting models that are thought to have been possessed by the Kyoto Kano (京狩野)—the Liang Kai and Song Zonglu—suggests a Kano descent. These details suggest a provincial artist who was trained by the Kano school. The space construction also differs from that of the Kano: the figures are not confined to the architectural space, which is organically integrated with the natural motifs. This may suggest that the screens were exhibited in a public space, but not on occasions of ideological importance.

Since it was customary to depict elements associated with Yin energy on the left fold of the screen (such as motifs associated with the female and winter), and Yang elements on the right (male, summer), the division of this pair of screens is in accord with traditional preferences. The seasonal shifts in the composition do not proceed, however, linearly from right to left: they move from spring-summer on the right to winter-autumn (rather than autumn-winter) on the left. This peculiar array can be explained by an attempt to include two annual cycles (both agriculture and sericulture) in one artwork. It can also point to a viewing experience that Ogawa Hiromitsu termed “pseudo official” (擬公). The term “official space” refers to wall-paintings that depict motifs of the four-seasons in the traditional format – where spring motifs are depicted to the East, summer to the South and so on – in a cycle that seems to surround the viewer in a harmonious progression of the elements. In the pseudo-official space, the seasonal cycle does not surround the viewer, but forms a closed and external seasonal circle within the frame (figure 83).⁵²⁸

528 Famous examples are the *Jitsugetsu Sanzui-zu Byōbu* 日月山水図屏風 (*Landscape Painting with Sun and Moon* at Kongō-ji 金剛寺) and Motonobu's *Birds and Flowers in the Four Seasons* in patrons' chamber at the

Ogawa suggested that pseudo-official images were aimed at people who were taking the first steps in their religious practice. While the enlightened viewer was surrounded by balanced space, lay-viewers were to observe the seasonal cycle—a signifier of enlightenment—from the outside. This theory may suggest that the screens were used in a secondary hall of a temple, considering their somewhat small dimensions,⁵²⁹ perhaps in a space dedicated for female devotees.⁵³⁰

The Nezu and Kōzu examples (figures 80 and 82) indicate that there were two ways to adapt the sericultural theme: the first continues the model of the two Chinese scrolls by representing sericulture as complementary to agriculture. The second establishes sericulture as a separate theme, just as agricultural scenes turned out to be an independent theme.

5.3.3.4 Sericulture Japanized: The Kano Einō Screen in a Private Collection

Approximately one hundred years after the Kōzu screens were produced,⁵³¹ Kano Einō (狩野永納, 1631-1697) painted a pair of screens with Japanized images of agriculture on the right, and sericulture on the left. The screen is colorfully decorated with lavish golden clouds and golden dust. Both screens depict joyful village scenes during the spring and summer (figure 51A-B).

The painting style resembles the tradition of the Rimpa school (琳派): bright colors, rolling green hills, and Japanese figures done in curvy lines. The traditional Chinese gender roles

Daisen'in. See: Ogawa Hiromitsu. 1989. The Sliding Door paintings in the hōjō of Daisen'in - the general plan of the paintings and the position they hold in the history of eastern partition panel painting-. *Kokka* 1120-1122:13-30;33-49;9-19.

529 The screens in the Kōzu Kobunka Kaikan measure 149.3x257.2 cm. They are smaller in comparison to Kano Motonobu's pair which measures 170x381.8 cm.

530 Nishi Kazuo refuted Ogawa's theory regarding the Daisen'in. Yet, it is still a useful platform for analyzing large painted formats (see: Nishi Kazuo 西和夫. 1999. *Kenchiku to shōhekiga* 建築と障壁画. Vol. 1, *Kenchikushi kenkyū no shinshiten* 建築史研究の新視点. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版. p. 223-230).

531 Based on stylistic analysis and seals, Tatara dated the screens to the end of the seventeenth century. See: Tatara, 2006. p. 53-54.

and gendered spaces were not preserved. At the same time, the large pines and the usage of Chinese painting models display Kano mannerisms. Tatara suggested that this artwork was commissioned by a private collector in Fukui Prefecture at the end of the seventeenth century, during Einō's early career.⁵³² It is not clear what model books Einō used to create the sericultural scenes. The agricultural scenes closely resemble the scroll in the Hori collection attributed to Einō's father Sansetsu (山雪 1589–1651) (figure 28-32/chapter 3.2.1). This may suggest that Sansetsu created a Japanized version of sericultural scenes similar to the agricultural scroll in the Hori family collection. There is, however, only circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Japanization of sericultural themes occurred simultaneously with that of agricultural scenes in the mid-seventeenth century.

These new images were based on former Chinese models like the Liang Kai and Song Zonglu models, but they included newly coined vignettes that represented the changing tradition of silk production. For example: the sericultural process in this screen begins with the same vignettes as those found in the Chinese models but here the closing scenes depict packing fibers, weighing the bails, and uploading them on a horse, instead of the traditional spinning and weaving. Perhaps by this time weaving was already thought to be an urban industry, and the patrons wished to create a natural, realistic view of the process.

5.3.3.5 Scrolls with Images of Sericulture

Scrolls combining images and explanatory texts suggest another form of reception. Of the three agricultural scrolls titled *Tawarakasane emaki* (俵重耕作絵巻, Illustrated handscroll of

⁵³² According to his diary, Einō visited Fukui prefecture in 1684, thus it is assumed that the screen was commissioned at the time. See: Toda Hiroyuki 戸田浩之. 2002. *Kōsaku-yōsanzu byōbu* 耕作図養蚕図屏風. In *Momoyama no iro, Edo no sai : Fukui yukari no kinsei kaiga* 桃山の色, 江戸の彩 : 福井ゆかりの近世絵画. Fukui: Fukui Prefectural Museum 福井県立美術館. p. 124.

abundant harvest), two carry brief references to sericulture. The scroll in the Machida municipal museum (formerly in a private collection in Kyoto) is another rare example of Japanized paintings of sericulture (figure 84). As I detail in the second chapter, the text is primarily technical and is written mainly in *hiragana* with occasional *kanji*—a mode appropriate for children’s textbooks. The viewers are thus thought to be the sons and daughters of feudal lords. The relatively large number of figures of children supports this conjecture. Educating children as for the silk production process may suggest the lingering importance of silk as a mark of social status and as an epitome of righteous behavior.

The closing scenes of the first scroll summarize the sericultural process: picking mulberry leaves, boiling the silk threads, and weaving. This brevity suggests that the artist did not fully understand the technical aspects of silk-production, although it is explained in the inscription that precedes the images.⁵³³ The main innovation of this scroll is its final scene: we are now at a silk merchant’s house. Three generations are gathered around an imposing woman who measures the white silk cloth. Silk, in this image, turns from the practical technique or the edifying subject—into a commodity. The figures are no longer the Chinese ladies in their remote villages to whose

533 The first paragraph of the inscription reads: At the time [of rice cultivation] silkworms are raised. On the day of the horse of the second month (Jp. *hatsuuma*), the silkworm eggs [laid on special cards thick paper (Jp. *tanekami*)] are hatched. If it is still cold, and there are very few buds of mulberry, and if only one or two leaves had grown [...], prayers are carried to the *amazu-muma-boshi* star, begging that the silkworms will not die suddenly.

Later [special wicker baskets/ Jp. *kakutei/kaikosudare*] are put on the cocoon-shelves, and on top of them the *kaikomushiro* [another woven vessel] is opened, the silkworms are moved there for care. The leaves of the mulberry, which has grown in the fields are chopped and inserted into mulberry-palanquins; the cut mulberry is arranged neatly, and scattered on top of the silkworms. [the worms] molt three times [literally, sleep three times, and get up three times]. After these changes they turn white; they discharge a thread, and form a cocoon. This cocoon’s shape resembles a chicken’s egg; inside - the worm turns into a butterfly. Born on an egg-card, they can neither walk nor fly. [On the day that textile is woven, this thread is span into one thicker thread], the cocoons are inserted in a cauldron and boiled, so it is said. (My translation, based on the transcription of Kōno Michiaki in: Machida Municipal Museum. 2000. *Tawarakasane kōsaku emaki : Kōki Tei gyosei kōshokuzu* たはらかさね耕作絵巻:康熙帝御製耕織図 [Scroll of abundant harvest/ Kangxi edition of Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture] Machida: Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan. p. 87.

noble ways the viewer aspires, as we witnessed in Motonobu's screen above (figure 80); these are now local figures who the viewer could recognize.

5.3.4 Sericulture during the Edo period: Rice as Self and Silk as Other?

The images discussed above are a sample of the dozen paintings of sericulture that have survived from the early modern period. According to current research, this meager number indicates that commissions of paintings of sericulture declined after the eighteenth century.⁵³⁴ This decline stands in contrast to the growing production of silk textiles throughout the Edo period, and to the increasing number of technical writings concerning sericultural techniques being published.⁵³⁵ This transition can be understood within the change in the printing industry that popularized the visual depictions of weavers in a manner that associated them with beautiful women, in addition to actual changes in the local markets of silk production. The Japanization of sericultural themes is linked to the Japanization of local textile industries, and the need of workers to learn more on their trade. For example, Narita Jūhyōue, a sericulturist from Ōmi, reportedly stated that silk yarn production doubled between ca. 1600 and ca. 1700, and quadrupled during the eighteenth century.⁵³⁶

The newly published technical manuals for sericulturists echo both the visual imagery of the early Chinese model books and their emphasis on Confucian morals, hard labor, and natural harmony. Moreover, Confucian notions were tied to the idea of technical development: "If

⁵³⁴ Although the number of recorded paintings of sericulture is still small, I am sure that with the progress of research more paintings will be "discovered" in rural collections (as was the case with *Pictures of Agriculture*).

⁵³⁵ For a list of early modern sericultural manuals, see: Fukushima Prefectural Museum, 1998, p. 38-41.

⁵³⁶ Thomas C. Smith. 1988. *Native sources of Japanese industrialization, 1750-1920*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. p. 189.

everyone will follow this book not only will it enrich individual families but the wealth of Heaven and Earth will increase like the sea coming in at full tide” wrote Narita Jūhyoue.⁵³⁷

We find similar statements indicating the tie between technological development and ideological reasoning in writings about agricultural technology. As we saw, rice and silk production in Japan developed along similar lines. But while rice became the base for the shogun’s regime, silk was associated with the reign of the imperial court and feminine occupations. According to Haraguchi, it was silk’s association with the female gender that prevented it from becoming an accepted painting theme popular with official audiences.⁵³⁸ Nevertheless, it was perhaps this association with female work that caused sericultural images to wander from the Kano ateliers into print makers’ workshops. Only after model books of sericulture were disseminated outside the official circles of the Kano schools did silk images inspire the woodblock painters of beautiful women of the demi-monde that I detail in the following section.

5.4 IMAGES OF SERICULTURE IN *UKIYO-E*

5.4.1 Printed Images of Sericulture: Following the Confucian Tradition or Parodying It?

Dozens of printed books include at least one illustration that can be linked to the visual tradition of *Pictures of Sericulture*. Previous studies link these images to paintings produced by the Kano school for the shoguns and their circles. I argue below that illustrations in printed

537 Narita in: Smith, 1988. p. 189.

538 Haraguchi, 2000. p. 134.

books and single woodblock prints were more often than not based on imported Chinese materials. These Chinese materials were reprinted by Japanese publishers, and later integrated with shogunal traditions. As such, I contend, printed images of sericulture can be read in opposing ways: as homage to the Neo-Confucian teachings promulgated by the shogunal regime (as we saw in the examples above), or as critical voices subverting Neo-Confucianism (as I exemplify in the coming paragraphs).

5.4.2 Sericulturists as Beautiful Women

Beautiful people (美人) is a sub-category of figure paintings (人物画) in the traditional division of painting themes into landscapes (山水画), flowers and birds (花鳥画), and figures. In the study of *ukiyo-e*, *bijin-ga* refers to pictures of attractive girls, often denizens of the pleasure quarters. Regardless of the social position of the depicted women, the images objectify their grace for the viewer's pleasure.⁵³⁹ Images of sericulturists can be found among these prints of beautiful people.

Hishikawa Moronobu (菱川師宣, 1618-1694), one of the pioneering *ukiyo-e* painters, published a book titled *Wakoku hyakujo* (和国百女, Hundred Japanese Beauties) in Genroku 8 (1695). This book is a fascinating source of information about women's occupations during the late seventeenth century. Among the various crafts, we see women preparing textiles: spinning, beating new cloth, and hanging up washed garments (figure 85). The title of the book

⁵³⁹ The issue of the (heterosexual) male gaze and the construction of erotic visual pleasure is now basic to the analysis of women's images. It is interesting to note that the Japanese authorities recognized the aspect of power and control that such a gaze holds, because the artist Nishikawa Sukenobu 西川祐信 (1671–1750) was arrested after including an image of the empress in his book *Hyaku jorō shina sadame* (百女郎品定 *One Hundred Women classified by rank*) in 1723. Moronobu's book was emulated by Nishikawa Sukenobu's *Hundred women*, which in itself turned into an important source for Suzuki Harunobu's parodies.

emphasizes that the beauties are Japanese; I argue that this title indicates that the Japanese book was created after a Chinese one.⁵⁴⁰ Book titles that begin with one of Japan's alternative names (*honchō* 本朝, *yamato* 大和, *fusō* 扶桑 or *wakan* 和漢 (Japanese-Chinese)) usually indicate that the book is a local adaptation modeled after a Chinese text. These titles emphasize that the images of Japan were constructed vis-à-vis Chinese culture, even when seclusion and censorship seemingly forbade such connections. Namely, the Japanization of the illustrated other—as we see in images of sericulture—seems to be an important issue for the viewers of many paintings.

I argue that because the publication of images of beautiful women was acceptable in Chinese popular culture they became acceptable in Japanese popular culture. Moreover, it is quite likely that there was a dynamic exchange of pictures of beautiful women between Japan and China, and that works by *ukiyo-e* artist inspired pictures of beauties and erotic images in Qing-dynasty prints.⁵⁴¹ Moreover, like the Kano school painters, *ukiyo-e* artists relied heavily on mixing and matching past models. Printed painting manuals (画譜, Ch. *huapu*, Jp. *gafu*) were important sources of visual inspiration. For marketing reasons, conservative older images were

540 Moronobu was perhaps alluding to a Chinese manual which focused on beauties absorbed in their daily chores; such books survived, however, in China only from a much later period. For example, the painting manual *Baimei tupu* (百美图譜, Painting Manual of One Hundred Beauties) of 1804 (reproduced in: Yin Shoushi 尹瘦石, ed. 2000. *Zhongguo gu hua pu ji cheng* 1ed. Jinan 济南市: Shandong mei shu chu ban she 山东美术出版社). The dates may actually suggest that Moronobu's manual influenced the Chinese artist. Yet, the title of the Chinese manual puns the Yuan-dynasty painting manual *Baimei huapu* (百梅畫譜, Painting Manual of Hundred Plums) – a fact that suggests local discourse. The question of Chinese-Japanese exchange of popular imagery requires further research.

541 In addition to the book's title, Moronobu's image of women stretching a washed *obi* (figure 85) resembles the composition of the women ironing in the Tang-dynasty canonic painting *Preparing Newly Woven Silk* (figure 86). I could not find reproductions of this specific copy of the Tang image that could have served Moronobu as a model, but it is not implausible that Moronobu created this composition carrying in mind the four Chinese women around the stretched rectangular silk. This conjecture is supported by examples of artists of later generations that clearly utilized Chinese painting manuals or single prints for creating new themes and compositions for the *ukiyo-e* industry, as I detail in this chapter.

updated and revised to give them a fresh look and fashionable appeal.⁵⁴² For instance, nothing in the image of Kitagawa Utamaro's (喜多川歌麿, 1853-1806) *Woman Bathing a Small Child* (figure 88) discloses its similarity to the classic *Scenes of Song Court Ladies*, which was probably borrowed from *Gushihuapu* (顧氏畫譜, *Master Gu's Manual of Painting*) (figure 89).⁵⁴³ However, the rarity of the theme – cleaning the dripping nose of a boy – together with the position of the figures and the household items, indicates that Utamaro had the Chinese model in mind while creating his updated version. I contend that Moronobu's images of sericulturists testify to similar circumstances: the artist borrowed his theme and composition from Chinese sources, but he converted the high-class Chinese ladies into laboring Japanese women. It is thought that later *ukiyo-e* artists created new versions of Moronobu's themes, but it is also possible that they continued to improvise on the Chinese manuals. Later examples include *Hyakujorō shinasadame* (百女郎品定, One hundred women classified by rank, 1723) by Nishikawa Sukenobu (西川祐信, 1671-1750) (figure 91), and Utamaro's triptych of sewing beauties (figure 90). In summary, Moronobu and *ukiyo-e* artists of later generations quoted and adapted popular Chinese images of sericulturists (or their later Japanese reproductions) rather than adapting the traditional models of the Kano school. As in the case of the agricultural images, I argue that *Pictures of Sericulture* infiltrated popular culture through adaptations of Chinese printed books rather than through the direct copy of the Kano school models. At the same time,

542 Nelson Davis analyzed the manners in which the image of an *ukiyo-e* painter was constructed to appeal to the audience for commercial reasons. See: Julie Nelson Davis. 2004. Artistic Identity and Ukiyo-e Prints: The Representation of Kitagawa Utamaro to the Edo Public. In *The artist as professional in Japan*, edited by M. Takeuchi. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. p. 113-151.

543 The *Master Gu's Manual of Painting* was published in China c. 1607 (Wanli 31), and printed in many editions. It is not clear when the book was imported to Japan, although there is clear evidence that Japanese painters appropriated vignettes from this book, for example: Ike Taiga. See: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 町田市立国際版画美術館. 1990. *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu, edehon ten: meiga o unda hanga* 近代日本絵画と画譜・絵手本展: 名画を生んだ版画. 2 vols. Tokyo. p. 153.

the association of the sericultural images with Confucian values and traditional female roles that we found in the Kano models was maintained in the printed sericultural vignettes.

5.4.3 Sericultural Images in Painting Manuals

Tachibana Morikuni's (橘守国, 1679-1748) depiction of the sericultural theme was the first printed work to depict the entire process and it became a seminal work for later woodblock-print painters. As I detailed in the previous chapter, in the beginning of the eighteenth century Morikuni published several series of *edehon* (絵手本, painting manuals). His *Ehon nezashi takara* (絵本値指宝, 1744, Illustrated Treasure of Direct Transmission) included Japanized sericultural scenes (figure 92-102), and are thus thought to be the first adaptation in print of the Kano *funpon* of the *Pictures of Sericulture*.⁵⁴⁴ This series of images was only one of many Chinese and Japanese themes portrayed in these books. Morikuni's betrayal of the Kano school's secrets is often discussed in accounts of the Kano school's tradition.⁵⁴⁵ It is, however, noteworthy that Morikuni's images of sericulture are different both in selection of subject matter and style from the Kano secret models (such as the Liang Kai model, Kano Einō's book, and Tan'yū's sketches 探幽縮図; figure 103), or even from the Kangxi edition. Particularly relevant is the fact that earlier Kano artists preferred Chinese figures, while Morikuni depicted Japanese sericulturists. Watabe suggested that Morikuni Japanized the Kano model,⁵⁴⁶ but I argue that Morikuni relied on printed books from outside the Kano canon. For example, Morikuni includes

⁵⁴⁴ Watabe, 1986, p. 97(24).

⁵⁴⁵ This theory, although often repeated, was first published years after the death of Morikuni and is not credible. The comparison of Morikuni's illustrations of *Agriculture and Sericulture* with the Kano-school *mohon* also suggests that Morikuni's illustrated books cannot be considered a simple republication of the school's secret models. See footnote 388 and 389.

⁵⁴⁶ Watabe, 1986, p. 24.

four scenes of picking, cutting, and distributing the mulberry leaves, while earlier versions depicted only one picking scene by male farmers (cf. figures 93-96 and figure 78).

In 1750, two years after Morikuni's death, Ōoka Shunboku (大岡春朴, 1680-1763), a print painter of his milieu, published the illustrated book *Wakan Meigaen* (和漢名画園, Garden of Chinese and Japanese Master-Paintings) (figure 104).⁵⁴⁷ This collection displays copies of *Pictures of Sericulture*, which are similar to the *funpon* attributed to Motonobu at the Tokyo National Museum (figure 81).⁵⁴⁸ The book also includes copies of Tosa paintings, and works by the Song and Yuan masters. Judging from the illustrations, Ōoka's book is more an offense against the Kano school tradition of secreting copy books from outsiders than any work by Morikuni, since it obviously uses Kano models, exposing them to a wide audience. Nonetheless, it was Morikuni's model in the *Ehon nezashi takara*, rather than Ōoka's model, that gained followers from among the *ukiyo-e* artists. As in the case of agricultural images, Morikuni's rendering of sericultural images became itself a model-book for later print artists.

5.4.4 Katsukawa Shunshō and Kitao Shigemasa: Edifying Messages

Approximately thirty years after Morikuni published his sericultural series, Katsukawa Shunshō (勝川春章, 1726-1793) and Kitao Shigemasa (北尾重政, 1739-1820) published a series of twelve multi-colored single prints titled *Kaiko yashinai gusa* (蚕養い草, *Leaves of*

⁵⁴⁷ For a full reproduction, see:

http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/chi04/chi04_04319/index.html (accessed April 2010).

⁵⁴⁸ Shunboku's copies are four double spreads of *Pictures of Sericulture* divided according to the seasons. The inscription on the image marks the season and the name of the original painter *kohōgen-hitsu* (古法眼) – a title referring to Kano Motonobu (1476-1559). See:

http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/chi04/chi04_04319/chi04_04319_0004/chi04_04319_0004.html (images 4-7) (accessed April 2010).

Raising Silkworms, ca. 1772) (figures 105-115). This series closely mirrors Morikuni's designs, repeating the themes and many of the figures and compositions of the earlier series. Each of the images carries a short text in cursive script.⁵⁴⁹ The first ten inscriptions are simple technical explanations about the labor required to develop the silkworms into cocoons throughout the year. Technical explanations can be traced back to technical manuals and even to the original poems by Lou Shu, although the laconic inscriptions on *Leaves* lack any poetic or emotional undertones.

The last two texts, however, go beyond the technical to reveal an ideological agenda. To wit, the eleventh image (figure 114) in this series, which depicts a weaving girl, carries the following text:

*Worshipping the goddess of silkworms dates back to the ancient times, when Kagutsuchi met Princess Haniyama and Wakumusubi was born. From his head came the silkworms and mulberry—as we can read in the Book of the Gods [of the Nihongi]. In our country we should worship Wakumusubi. Additionally, we can read in the Nihongi that during the twenty-second generation, the wife of Emperor Yūryaku tended the silkworms herself. In China, according to the [eleventh-century Chinese book] Tsukan, it was started by Seiryōshi—the wife of the Yellow emperor.*⁵⁵⁰

The eclectic references to myths involving textiles continue in the following image. This print, number twelve, depicts a silk tradesman at the door of two elegant women (figure 115.12). One lady examines the pattern of an embroidered textile, while the other examines a kimono design (雛形本, Jp. *hinagatabon*). The text on top refers to silk production in ancient Chinese

549 For a full list of the images and the transliteration of their texts, see: Ukiyo-e virtual museum, in: Museum of Fiber science and Technology at the Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology. 東京農工大学附属繊維博物館, 2001. <http://www.biblio.tuat.ac.jp/vr-museum/ukiyoe1/UKList1.htm> (accessed April 2010).

550 蚕の神を祭る事日本の古しへを考れば軻遇突智埴山姫に逢て雅産霊を産此神の頭に蚕と桑となれりと神代巻に見へたれば本朝にては雅産霊を祭るべきものか又第廿二代雄略天皇の御后みつから養蚕し給ふ事日本紀に見へたり唐土にてハ黄帝の後西陵氏を始とすること通鑑に出たり. See: Museum of Fiber Science and Technology, 2002.

<http://www.biblio.tuat.ac.jp/vr-museum/ukiyoe1/genyakuPDF/11.pdf> (accessed April 2010).

and Japanese myths. Interestingly, the folding screen in the background depicts a monochrome Chinese landscape. The text reads:

It is not known when the sewing needle was first used, but since clothes were made—sewing needle also existed. The Chinese emperor named Taiko [太昊 Chi. Taihao] ordered the creation of nine needles. Additionally, the Raiki [Ch. Liji] refers to [sewing needles]. In our country, when Ōnamuchi-no-kami⁵⁵¹ courted Princess Ikutamayori,⁵⁵² her parents—who did not know him—used a needle to sew a thread of mixed-linen through the hem of his garment, so they could follow the line of the thread. This story appears in the Mt. Miwa [section of the Nihongi].⁵⁵³

The above eclectic inscription creates a pseudo-intellectual impression. These texts continue the line of thought of the *Tawarakasane* (see 3.2.4) in that they combine semi-technical and mythological strains in a pedagogic manner. Moreover, the decision to conclude the sericultural process with a depiction of a commercial activity also recalls the Japanized scroll. The focus on female figures in the ancient scriptures and references to sewing are similar to the simplified textbooks for women, suggesting that this series may have been aimed at poorly educated women.

In this work, we observe a merchant at the door of two wealthy common women; it is significant that the commercial act takes place in an urban setting. This change may testify to the

551 In the *Nihonshoki*, Ōnamuchi-no-kami is similar to Ōkuninushi-no-kami (大国主命), a deity associated with rice agriculture (*Nihon kokugo Daijiten*, 2006).

552 The story of Ikutamayori-hime appears in the third book of the Miwa legends of the *Kojiki*. The girl is visited nightly by a mysterious guest. When she gets pregnant, her parents convince her to sew a hemp thread to his clothes, and in the morning the thread leads them to a dying divine-serpent. Ikutamayori-hime's child becomes the head of the shrine built in honor of the serpent. Carmen Blacker linked this legend with other Sino-Japanese folktales associating weaving and sewing with a girl's passion to a magical animal. See: Carmen Blacker. 1986. *The catalpa bow : a study of shamanistic practices in Japan* London ; Boston: G. Allen & Unwin.p. 338.

553 掠縫針のはじめはいづれといふことをしらねとも衣裳の製しより有なるへし唐の大実と申帝九針を作といふ又礼記のうちに針に紉て縫んとあり我朝大己貴神活玉依姫に通給ふ時父母しらんとて績麻を針をいて神人の短裳に係て旦糸のすじを尋もとめIn: Museum of Fiber Science and Technology, 2002.
<http://www.biblio.tuat.ac.jp/vr-museum/ukiyoe1/genyakuPDF/12.pdf> (accessed April 2010).

difference in the works' audiences: *Tawarakasane* was produced for a provincial audience, while the prints were aimed at urbanites. In this way, the prints reflect the growth of the silk industry in Kyoto.

The silk trade can be linked to *ukiyo-e* in various ways. The prints reflect a general interest in garments; many artists began their careers by drawing kimono patterns, which remained important motifs in this medium. The fact that multi-colored prints were termed *brocade* pictures (*nishiki-e*) may suggest parallels in the developments of weaving and printing.

The development of local industries was accompanied by a burgeoning discourse concerning local products and techniques, which is apparent in many aspects of Edo visual culture.⁵⁵⁴ The discourse regarding sericulture is no different and it is reflected in the visual culture surrounding silk. As the text suggests, the discourse shifts from issues of technology and morals to an examination of how sericulture is fundamentally part of Japanese traditions. Ancient Japanese myths are juxtaposed with Chinese scriptures.

Shunshō's series was published at the time Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長; 1730–1801) was crafting his influential theories regarding the idiosyncrasy of Japan in regard to China and composing his interpretation of the *Kojiki* (古事記, *Records of Ancient Matters*). To a certain extent, the production and marketing of the sericultural images reflect this concurrent ideological discourse in that they gave rise to a new appreciation of the native traditions and questioning of the Chinese authoritative models and values.

⁵⁵⁴ On the studies of local products, see: Mary Elizabeth Berry. 2006. *Japan in print: information and nation in the early modern period, Asia--local studies/global themes* ; 12. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press. p. 158-159.

5.4.5 Harunobu's Parody of Weaving

It is interesting to analyze Harunobu's print *Weaving* (機織, Jp. *hataori*) (figure 116) with these facts in mind. The Ōta catalog reproduces two Suzhou prints (figure 117) that are said to have influenced Harunobu.⁵⁵⁵ The multi-colored print titled *Mulberry Picking and Weaving* (採桑織機 図) depicts two finely-dressed ladies. The one of the left is gracefully placing a leafy branch into a small basket; the other looks at her from inside an elegant house, where she is seated by a loom. The fine objects in the house (vase, carved table, scholar's stones) associate weaving with prosperity and feminine virtue.

Readers also encountered images of a weaving woman in the illustrations for the famous story about the mother of Mencius (孟子, Ch. Mengzi, Jp. Mōshi). This often-reproduced image originated in the well-known textbook *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (烈女伝, Ch. *lienu zhuan*, Jp. *retsujoden*).⁵⁵⁶ The anecdote *Mengzi's Mother Weaving* (孟母断機) maintained an on-going popularity in both China and Japan; it narrates how, after the young Mencius left school early one day, his mother reprimanded him by saying that a man who neglects his studies is like a woman who abandons her weaving – both “may end up as common thieves if not slaves. Shaken, Mencius studied hard [...] and eventually became a famous Confucian scholar. Superior

⁵⁵⁵ Ōta Memorial Museum of Art 太田記念美術館. 2000. *Nishikie to chūgoku hanga-ten: nishikie ha kōshite umareta* 錦絵と中国版画展: 錦絵はこうして生まれた [*Nishiki-e and Chinese Prints: The Birth of Nishiki-e*]. Tokyo: Ōta kinen bijutsukan 太田記念美術館 .p. 11 and 49.

⁵⁵⁶ An early version of the *Lienuzhuan* was composed during the Han dynasty by Liu Xiang 劉向 (80-9 BCE) and entered Japan in the ninth century. Popular illustrated editions surged in China during the Ming and the Qing dynasties (1368-1911), and were reproduced in Japan no later than 1650 (Laura W Allen. 2004. Japanese Exemplars for a New Age: Genji Paintings from the Seventeenth-Century Tosa School. In *Critical perspectives on classicism in Japanese painting, 1600-1700*, edited by E. Lillehoj. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 131.

men observed that Mencius' mother understood the way of motherhood."⁵⁵⁷ Illustrations of this superior role-model thus showed her beside a loom with her young son looking up at her (figure 118). The loom in such images is an attribute of the ideal Confucian woman. Thus the weaving mother's image calls the tale told above and stands as a synecdoche for Confucian teaching.

The figures' gazes play an important role in the composition of the Suzhou prints: the weaving lady looks at the mulberry picker, whose eyes lead to a toddler holding a dog. The boy's eyes stare at the hem of her skirt. The combined lines of the gazes parallel the shape created by the tree's trunk and loom. Looks and gestures also play important roles in the theatrical poses struck by Mengzi and his mother.

It is, as of yet, impossible to establish a direct link between the above Suzhou prints and Harunobu's work. Nonetheless, comparing the two indicates that certain attributes of Harunobu's beauties were drawn from the Suzhou prints. On the possible list of borrowed motifs are the large round faces, which are turned in three quarters and slightly tilted, and the sideways looks which give the impression of self-absorbed seduction. Comparing Harunobu's mannerisms to Chinese prints opens new ways of interpreting his message. I propose that Harunobu utilized some sexual overtones already existent in the Chinese prints and parodied the Confucian virtues they embodied.

Comparing Harunobu's weaving woman to images of Mengzi's mother to *Pictures of Sericulture* reveals many visual similarities: her body is turned in a three-quarter pose so that the viewer can appreciate her technical skill. At the same time, the innocent figure of an assisting child (in sericultural images), or of the child Mengzi (in *Exemplary Women*), is transformed by Harunobu into a lascivious toddler who looks under the girl's kimono. In response, the girl raises

⁵⁵⁷ Ann Waltner. 2002. Representations of Children in Three Stories from *Biographies of Exemplary Women*. In *Children in Chinese art*, edited by A. E. B. Wicks. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. p. 88-94.

a large shuttle that is shaped like female genitalia.⁵⁵⁸ This transformation was too critical a change to go unnoticed by the literate audience. By inserting erotic overtones into this weaving homily, I argue that Harunobu was making a point regarding Confucian values and their proponents.

The tension between sericulture (as metaphor for the Confucian social order) and sexuality appears in another of Harunobu's prints. This is an image from the series *Fūryū enshoku Maneemon* (風流艶色まねえもん, *The Stylish and Pleasure-Seeking Mane'emon*; figure 119).⁵⁵⁹ The story follows the protagonist's attempts to learn about the art of love-making (色道, *shikidō*) by travelling into bedrooms throughout the Kantō region as a miniature voyeur. In the tenth episode, Mane'emon finds himself in a room used to rear silkworms. It is the time of feeding the silkworms, which is the most labor-intensive season and the time when the insects' health is most precarious. Consequently, many taboos were linked to this space and time. The husband in this story returns home, feverish after glancing at an erotic book in the city, and immediately jumps upon his wife. The young woman refuses his maneuvers by protesting that the silkworms would be disturbed by their lovemaking.⁵⁶⁰ The scene emphasizes the use of sericultural activities as metaphors for correct feminine behavior, the kind of behavior

558 For the visual and literary connections between female genitalia and the weaving shuttle, see: Shalmit Bejarano. 2009. On Parody, Appropriation, and Ideology in Harunobu's Images of Sericulture. In *Proceedings of the Association of Japanese Literary Studies*, edited J. S. Mostow and S. Averbuch. p. 196-197.

559 Writer: Komatsuya Hyakki 小松屋百亀(1720–1793). The story is detailed in: Hayakawa Monta 早川門多. 2001. Observations on the Manners and Customs of Eros in Eighteenth Century Edo: The World of Suzuki Harunobu's *Fūryū Mane'emon*. In *Two Faces of the Early Modern World: The Netherlands and Japan in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, edited by Shirahata Yōzaburō and W.J. Boot. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

560 The woman refers to the silkworms as *ko* (short for *kaiko*, but literally - children). Her expression reflects the notion that child rearing equaled silkworm rearing. See fn. 474.

promulgated by edifying books written for women.⁵⁶¹ The chastity of the woman in contrast to the sexual frustration of the man satirizes the Confucian messages in such edifying books.

It is important to note that although Harunobu flourished prior to the Kansei reforms (1787-1793) when government enforcement of censorship regulations was relatively lax, open political criticism was severely punished.⁵⁶² I propose that the erotic print was used as a witty means to bypass censorship; between the lines of the erotic message, the receiver could sense discomfort towards the Confucian social stratification and shogunal rule.

Mane'emon displays a particularly intricate set of motifs, but it also calls attention to the fact that erotic prints were a politically subversive medium. *Shunga* (erotic prints) were politically subversive because producing and purchasing pornography was illegal, because non-reproductive sex did not accord with the official ideology, and because they presented the official ideology as fallacious. Future research may fine-tune the place of women in *shunga* as embodiments of the institutionalized ideology, and contextualize erotic images in the political discourse of the time. It is already evident, however, that *shunga* attempt to do more than document the sexual customs of the early modern period.

This point leads me to propose that we should also examine social taboos and censorship when attempting to discern parodies in *ukiyo-e*. The central place of appropriation in the art world of early modern Japan complicates the definition of imitation and makes proving the existence of critical messages difficult. As we have seen, we cannot count on visual comparisons to decide whether an image was received as subverting or supporting societal norms. The fact

561 Bejarano, 2009. p. 190-194.

562 For censorship and *ukiyo-e*, see: Sarah E. Thompson, and Harry D. Harootunian. 1991. *Undercurrents in the floating world : censorship and Japanese prints*. 1st ed. New York: Asia Society Galleries. p. 56.; Julie Nelson Davis. 2007. The trouble with Hideyoshi: censoring *ukiyo-e* and the *Ehon Taikōki* incident of 1804. *Japan forum* 19 (3):281-315.

that eroticism and criticism of Confucianism were forbidden, beginning in 1722, can assist us in defining “parody” and distinguishing it from imitation.

5.4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I indicated several phases in the depiction of *Pictures of Sericulture* in Japan from the Muromachi to the Edo periods. Central to my argument is the understanding that representations of sericulture in art were never divorced from ideological issues. Of particular importance is the understanding that the association of silk production with women led to the appreciation of this theme as a signifier of larger social constructs. These were the understanding that sericulture was linked with imperial authority first in China, then in Japan; that the practice was associated with women’s domestic roles and later with domestic confinement; and lastly, that the images demonstrate the Japanization of commodities associated with China. These tendencies, we saw, are reflected in the manner in which artists approached the seemingly technical issues of how silkworms are raised and how their thread is made into clothes.

While describing social and political tendencies, I indicated a few turning points in the way sericultural iconography was transmitted in practice. Up until the seventeenth century, *Paintings of Sericulture* were transmitted in a similar manner to the *kōsakuzu*. Chinese technical manuals and painting manuals were used by painters of the Kano school as model books for creating screen paintings and scrolls. These were associated with the shogunal Neo-Confucians’ policies intended to maintain an orderly society. The association of silk-production with the feminine and with artisans led to the elimination of sericultural images from public spaces; agricultural images filled this void because they were better suited to promote the authoritative message of the shogun.

While the sericultural images became unpopular as official themes, they were transmitted to the popular arena by the development of a print industry that disseminated visual images of sericulture; these could be viewed in abundance from the end of the eighteenth century, both in technical manuals of sericulture and in painting manuals. One example of a painting manual is the pioneering work of Tachibana Morikuni, whose images became the conventional blueprint for later *ukiyo-e* artists, such as Shigemasa and Utamaro. At the same time, I argue that the standardization of sericultural images in the popular visual arena did not come at the cost of forsaking the original pedagogical and authoritative messages of the theme. A close analysis of a print of a weaving girl by Harunobu suggests that the iconography of sericulture maintained its dynamism and continued to reflect political associations despite changes in medium and audience. In conclusion, I argue that the iconography of sericulture should be seen primarily within its social, artistic, and political contexts rather than as an anachronistic vignette from the Chinese canon or as a record of technology.

6.0 CONCLUSION

In 1877 (Meiji 10), the artist known as Hiroshige III released a new series of color prints titled *Dai Nippon bussan zue* (大日本物産図絵, Pictures of products of the Great Japan).⁵⁶³ Among the one hundred and twenty colorful prints of workers from the various provinces of Japan, we can easily recognize several scenes of rice harvesting and silk production. For example, in the series of scenes from Kyushu we observe farmers threshing and husking the harvested rice ears, and storing them in a modern storehouse (figure 120). Another image depicts women in colorful kimonos separating the silkworm eggs and picking mulberry leaves (figure 121). Despite the modern style of the images, the vignettes can be traced back to the iconography of the twelfth century bureaucrat Lou Shu. The seemingly modern husking machine had already been described in the late Ming-dynasty painting-manual *Gu shi huapu* (figure 122) and reproduced by Yosa Buson (与謝蕪村, 1716-1783) (figure 67), and similar treatment of the egg-cards was depicted by Morikuni (橘守国, 1679-1749) (figure 91.2) after the Liang Kai model (梁楷本) (figure 11).

Throughout this dissertation, my discussion of the history of agrarian visuals has indicated a tension between the artistic appeal of the scenes and their ideological messages. The

⁵⁶³ Hiroshige III was the name used by scholars for the artists Andō Tokubei (安藤徳兵衛, 1842-1894). The publisher was Ōkura Magobei (大倉孫兵衛, 1843-1921). Most of the series was uploaded to the Digital Archive of the Kyushu University Museum 九州大学総合研究博物館, 2009: <http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/bussan/> (accessed April 2010).

title of the series mentioned above includes the words “Great Japan”—the name used by the early Meiji leaders to reformulate their country as a progressive and modern nation-state. Furthermore, the representation of the various traditional industries from the entire country as a unified category was intended to propagate an imagined sense of a mutual cause, as if all Japanese citizens labored for the prosperity of their nation. Consequently, it was suggested that the images were produced for the first national exposition in Tokyo, the *Naikoku kangyō hakurankai* (内国勧業博覧会, Exposition for the encouragement of domestic industries) of 1877.⁵⁶⁴ Expositions like this were consciously patterned after European models to convey a sense of patriotism and attracted thousands of visitors.⁵⁶⁵ Although the prints were not sold as part of the exhibition, it is likely that the publisher produced them in hope of benefiting from the excitement caused by this event, as—like the organization of the exhibition, its categories, and ideological undercurrents—the series of prints also displayed an organized view of local commodities for an audience of urban consumers.

Additional series of sericultural images were printed as spinning and weaving machines were installed in textile mills throughout Japan. These images combined the existing vignettes of girls producing silk with the progressive appeal of technology (figure 123). As Meech-Pekarik described, the elegant appearance presented in these works concealed outrageous working

564 Koide Izumi. 2006. Picturing Westernization and Modernization: A Woodblock Print Collection from Late 19th Century Japan. In *World library and Information Congress: 72nd IFLA general conference and council*. Seoul, p. 6. Kornicki translates National Industrial exhibition. Kornicki, Peter. F. 1994. Public Display and Changing Values. Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors. *Monumenta Nipponica* 49 (2):167-196. p. 184.

565 The political theorist Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉, 1835-1901) described the European models to follow by the Japanese expositions: “So every couple of years in the metropolises of the West they hold a gathering of products. They announce it throughout the world, and each country makes a collection of its special products, useful machines, antiques, and curiosities, and exhibits them to the people of all nations.” (Fukuzaka in Kornicki, 1984, p. 169). Kornicki notes that the *hakurankai*, at least in the early Meiji period, held similar characteristics to the Edo period displays. Yet, despite the many similarities he indicates, his conclusion maintains that the exhibitions’ framework did reflect the changing values of the Meiji period (Ibid).

conditions in the silk factories.⁵⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the silk industry contributed to Japanese export trade, and together with the display of new technological opportunities (which were of primary importance to the Meiji regime), silk production was placed—once again in Japanese history—under direct imperial patronage. Various prints depict empress Shōken (昭憲, 1849-1914), sometimes with her husband, the emperor Meiji, accompanied by weaving girls (figure 124). Many of these prints were produced in series that detailed the sericultural process, and have clear similarities to the traditional iconography of *Pictures of Sericulture*. And yet, despite the visual and conceptual similarities, the modern images clearly emanate from a different set of values and ideologies than those of the Edo period.

These modern prints, in fact, support my assertions throughout this study: *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* only pretend to record technology, document the lives of the laborers, and provide a view of the countryside. Rather, they served as a means to confirm and reinforce the ideological worldviews of their intended audience. Using loosely defined understandings of the production of food and clothes, seasonality, and social constructs, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* were a malleable platform for conveying ideology.

This state of affairs was possible due to the modes of painterly transmission practiced during the early modern period. Artistic practices relied heavily on the copying of former models; nonetheless, reproduction still provided artists and patrons a broad array of choices when appropriating traditional forms. When using agrarian models, artists altered accepted styles, and tempered them with figures that conveyed authority, financial strength, obedience, or various symbols linked to proto-nationalism. Contextualizing these alterations within their cultural and social milieus brings to light places of ideological conflict and cultural sensitivity

566 Julia Meech-Pekarik. 1986. *The world of the Meiji print: impressions of a new civilization* Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.). p. 97-98.

contemporary with the production of the works. While artists often followed the conventional symbolism of agrarian motifs and associated their reproductions with Confucian values, close analysis of various works reveals that one blanket explanation is not sufficient to interpret the reproduction of agrarian themes. In this sense, *Pictures of Agriculture and Sericulture* can be recognized as a carrier of messages within cultural, economic, and political networks.

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